The Outlook

MARCH 31, 1920

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A PERSONAL LETTER TO OUTLOOK SUBSCRIBERS

For fifty years I have been teaching through the printed page, animated by an ambition which has possessed me from my earliest boyhood. I grew up in the atmosphere of my grandfather's home in Maine and of a school established by my father and his brothers in New York City for the better education of girls—one of those pioneer schools which prepared the way for women's colleges. I early discovered that the teacher does not merely impart ideas; ideas are but the vehicles he uses to impart life. This discovery has directed and controlled all my editorial work.

This fact may partly explain the peculiar personal relations which have grown up between me and my readers. From them I have received thousands of letters of friendly appreciation and fellowship in response to my letter sent out recently announcing the unavoidable increase in the price of The Outlook. These letters have filled me with commingled feelings of gratitude and humility—gratitude for the opportunity which has been given me, humility that I have not better realized and fulfilled that opportunity.

To reply to your letters individually was impossible. Will you kindly accept instead this letter of thanks for the encouragement and inspiration which your friendship has given to me?

Editorial Rooms of The Outlook,
March 23, 1920.

Lyman Abbott.

THE WEEK

DMIRAL SIMS'S TESTIMONY

THE controversy between Admiral Sims and the Navy Department, which began over the award of medls contrary to his recommendation as ommander of the American forces in the ar zone, still rages.

The natural reaction of many to the eports of testimony which has been given efore the Senate Investigating Committee is to say: "Oh, this is just another ne of those post-war investigations which rouse nothing but personal ill feeling nd accomplish nothing useful." Admiral ims's testimony, if carefully analyzed, is een to be very different in type from iat usually secured by a Senatorial iquiry. It has been free from personaliies and has provided the country with iformation upon which a clear underanding of the fundamental principles of aval strategy and organization may be ased.

Admiral Sims has shown fairly conlusively that the Navy Department iled, at least during the early days of the ar, in its fundamental duty to develop a sound policy of action or to provide adequately even from its available resources for the carrying out of such a policy when developed. The Navy Department not only failed to provide its Commander-in-Chief in the war zone with an adequate personnel and a sufficient number of vessels, but it also hampered his operations by attempting to pass on matters in Washington which could be settled only by a commander in the field of active operations. The splendid work of the active naval forces of the country was carried on under most unnecessary handicaps and restrictions.

At the time of the Spanish War hysterical citizens clamored for the detail of single ships to protect isolated harbors and ports, a clamor which, if it had been acceded to, would have given Cervera his one chance of escape or his sole opportunity to do us damage. In the present war the people made no such clamor for personal protection, but apparently the Navy Department fell into the popular error of 1898 by retaining in American waters warships which would have been of invaluable service in the war zone.

The Navy Department's action seems not to have sprung so much from a lack of intelligence as from the mental bias of its Chief and his Chief of Operations, Admiral Benson, towards the whole question of American intervention in the war.

THE CONVICTION OF SENATOR NEWBERRY

IT is true that every violation of a criminal law is a crime; but it is also true that crimes differ one from another in heinousness. To bribe a voter or to give others money knowing that it will be used to bribe voters is both illegal and morally corrupt; to exceed a restriction placed by law on the amount a candidate may subscribe to his election fund is illegal, but the circumstances may or may not involve the moral turpitude of corruption. This applies to the conviction of Senator Newberry under the Corrupt Practices Act. This act

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limits the amount of money a candidate for the United States Senate may expend to $3,750. The original charge against Senator Newberry involved an accusation of knowledge on his part of the corrupt expenditure of campaign funds. The jury exonerated him on this charge, but held that he had violated the restriction as to the amount of expenditure. After conviction Senator Newberry and two of his political associates were sentenced to serve two years each in a Federal penitentiary and to pay fines of $10,000 each. Other political managers against whom the same charge was made were convicted and received various sentences.

The cases will be appealed directly to the Supreme Court of the United States. One point to be urged is that the Corrupt Practices Act does not apply to a primary election, because the primary system was not in existence when the act was passed. It is stated that Senator Newberry will not resign his seat in the United States Senate while the case is before the Supreme Court. He declares: "All charges of corruption, fraud, or bribery in the primary or election were dismissed by the Court, and not one word of evidence was introduced in connection therewith."

As we pointed out when Senator Newberry was indicted in Michigan, his contest with Mr. Henry Ford for the Senatorship was peculiar in that Mr. Ford's enormous business organization gave him special facilities for publicity. The Newberry campaign managers claim that their candidate could obtain fair and competing publicity only by heavy advertising and other legitimate campaign expenditure. Senator Newberry's enemies assert that part of the expenditure was illegitimate, but the verdict of the jury does not sustain that claim.

It is proper to restate the undoubted fact that Senator Newberry's career has been that of a patriotic and able public servant. It began when he was an enlisted man in the Navy in the Spanish War; he was Assistant Secretary of the Navy and later Secretary of the Navy, and in the recent war he obtained a commission as lieutenant-commander in the United States Navy Fleet Reserve; his business life has been active and important.

The case raises a fair question as to whether mere arbitrary restriction of the amount spent by individual candidates in a campaign is the surest way of preventing political corruption, although it might prevent a rich man from obtaining an undue advantage over a poorer opponent. That the law should deal forcefully with every kind of bribery and fraud in election campaigns is indisputable; it is possible, however, that more might be gained under a law in which greater latitude should be allowed to the courts in deciding precisely what acts are and what acts are not corrupt in intent.

(C) Harris & Ewing
SENATOR TRUMAN H. NEWBERRY, OF MICHIGAN

THE QUESTION OF A WAR BONUS

THE National Convention of the American Legion which met on November 12, 1919, declined to go on record in favor of a particular cash bonus for ex-service men, apparently being contented to leave this question to Congress for settlement. The Convention did recommend a bill providing for (*a*) Reclamation of unproductive lands by the Government for settlement by ex-service men; (*b*) development of rural communities by Government loans; (*c*) direct loans for the purchase and development of farm or city homes.

The failure of Congress to take definite action for the relief of ex-soldiers and sailors, the colossal failure of the Federal Board of Vocational Education to care for disabled veterans of the war, and the discouragement which came to most of the ex-service men who had any dealings with the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, have apparently all combined to make ex-service men feel that their needs have not been adequately attended to.

On March 22, National Committeemen of the American Legion met in Washington to consider the question of additional compensation for veterans. According to a despatch to the New York "Tribune," delegates from thirty-six States and the District of Columbia report sentiment in their departments in favor of a demand for a bonus, and only six States were said by their representatives to be unalterably opposed to it. The remaining States reported that they were divided in sentiment but that they were prepared to abide by the wishes of the majority. The conference of National Committeemen voted overwhelmingly to request compensation from the Government for veterans of the World War at the rate of a dollar and a half a day for every day of service.

Reduced to a question of Bill Jones and Tom Smith, it is hard to argue against the granting of such an appeal. A man who has thrown up a good job, given a year or two of his life to the service of his country, and who returns to find his job gone and filled by a man who collected high war wages during the whole period of his absence, is naturally in a mood to ask, "Why should I make all the sacrifices?"

IS THE BONUS THE BEST SOLUTION?

ON the other hand, it is a very grave question whether or not the granting of such a bonus would serve the purpose for which it was intended. If the Government had been foresighted enough to increase the bonus paid the soldiers at the time of their discharge to an amount sufficiently large to re-equip them for civil life, it is doubtful whether the present demand would have been created. Will the grant of a bonus at this time be of sufficient assistance to our ex-soldiers to compensate the country for the imposition of additional taxes? Cannot some system be devised for the expression of the Nation's debt to service men which is a little more constructive than the payment of a lump sum of money?

First of all, The Outlook would like to see the Federal Board of Vocational Education actually functioning effectively as an assistance to our wounded and disabled men. The wounded and disabled have the first call upon the Nation's interest. Second, The Outlook hopes for a day when the War Risk Insurance Bureau will have caught up with its colossal task sufficiently to inspire the confidence of ex-service men. Thirdly, The Outlook believes that the Government might well develop a system of Government loans for ex-service men, to be applied for the purchase and development of farm and city homes and the promotion of industrial endeavor. Such a programme might be made to do much to restore the pre-war financial status of American soldiers and sailors, and, if properly handled, it might be accomplished with a minimum of waste. The difficulty with such a proposal is that there are many ex-service men to whom it could not possibly be of any benefit. In the meantime it is not

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hard to understand, and to a certain extent to sympathize with, the present appeal for a direct bonus.

A NEW CRISIS IN GERMANY

THE revolution of autocracy in Germany collapsed as suddenly as it appeared. The pendulum of agitation has swung to the other extreme, and as we write (March 23) an industrial revolution threatens. Politically speaking, the weakness of the attempt by Kapp to overthrow the Ebert Government was astounding. It seems to have been a desperate effort, engineered by extreme advocates of the old order. No sooner was it under way than the weapon of a general strike and the lack of any large public sentiment brought it to an ignominious end. There was no large military clash; the forces brought to Berlin from the northeast—that is, the "Iron Division" of the Baltic troops—were quickly withdrawn from Berlin; as they did so they gave a shocking illustration of German military inhumanity by firing almost without provocation on the crowds in the Berlin streets, with pitiably murderous results. Kapp and General Luettwitz fled. President Ebert returned to the capital, and, so far as this fiasco of a revolution went, peace was restored.

But disorder and bloodshed continued in many places in Germany. It is easier to start a general strike and an industrial disturbance than to stop them. The Spartacans and Social Revolutionsists saw their opportunity. Apparently they have made a bargain with the Ebert Government under which radicalism, industrial and Socialistic, is to be represented far more fully than before in the National Assembly (which has reconvened), and perhaps in the Cabinet itself. According to the reports as we write, President Ebert has asked Scheidemann to form a new Cabinet, and Gustav Noske, Minister of Defense under the old Government, has resigned. Together with this report came another saying that the strike was practically over, while on the very same day a statement was reported as made by an official of the Ministry of Defense that "you cannot paint the situation throughout Germany too black."

Doubtless this last statement referred more especially to the conditions in the Ruhr district. There the Reds have something like a real army, and there may be something like a real battle between the Reds and Government troops. It is said that some of the Government troops used to subdue the industrial rebellion in the Ruhr district were among those which supported the Kapp attempt. In France, however, these reports of industrial revolution are regarded as exaggerated and as intended to influence the Allies toward allowing Germany to maintain a larger army than the Treaty allows, under pretense of protection against Bolshevist and Syndicalist disturbances. One indication of the extent to which radical success has attained is the report that the Ebert Government has agreed to apply the principle of nationalization to the coal and potash industries.

THE SITUATION IN TURKEY

ON March 17 British, French, and Italian forces occupied Constantinople. The British occupied Pera, that part of the city in Europe east of the Golden Horn, the inlet at right angles to the Bosphorus. The French occupied Stambul, the Mohammedan quarter, to the west of the Golden Horn. The Italians occupied Scutari, the part of the city situated across the Bosphorus in Asia. Geographically, Constantinople thus lends itself admirably to a triple Allied control.

We hope that the control may be lasting. The Turk has been lord of Constantinople since 1453, but during the many more preceding centuries the Greek was in power there. He cannot well return without precipitating complications, and complications would also assuredly result under the overlordship of either the English, the French, the Italians, or the Russians. A way out was seen by all of them in giving a mandate to the American Government. But that Government seems indisposed to embark on such a venture. As massacres of Armenians continue, and as the Allies have not enough troops in the interior of Asia Minor to preserve order, the occupation of Constantinople was decided upon as a means to stop the Turkish Government's collusion with the massacres. The leader of the Turkish army in Asia Minor, however, Mustapha Kemel, has broken with the Turkish Government, and has openly declared himself a Nationalist, and has defied the Allies. To bring him into line the newly organized Turkish Cabinet contains some of his followers. His headquarters are at Angora, two hundred and fifteen miles southeast of Constantinople. The Nationalist capital, however, is at Konia (note accompanying map), a hundred and fifty miles due south of Angora.

Meanwhile the English, French, Italians, and Greeks have been increasing their forces in both Turkey-in-Europe and Turkey-in-Asia.

And meanwhile massacres of Armenians go on. As to Constantinople and as to Armenia, our Government favors the removal of the Turks from Europe; the creation of an international commission for the Dardanelles with a place left vacant for Russia when a government recognized by the Allies is set up; finally, a liberal territorial treatment for Armenia, including an outlet to the sea. In standing for the removal of the Turk from Europe our Government takes a position contrary to that of Great Britain. Our position on the Dardanelles accords with that of the Allies. As to Armenia, she should certainly have all the Armenian territory that can be held by her and an outlet on the Black Sea.

THE WORLD'S FIRST PROBATION COURT

THE first probation court in the world was officially opened by Chief Justice William McAdoo in New York City on February 17. Since probation's incep-

TURKEY IN ASIA MINOR

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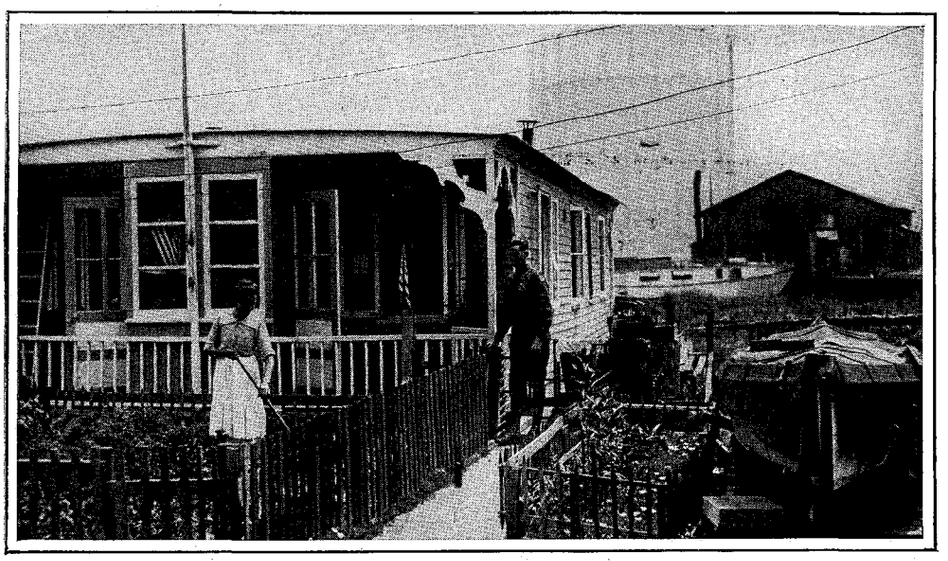
tion at Boston in 1880, its process of suspending prison sentences in the case of first and second offenders, and of placing them under the surveillance of specially appointed officers, has been adopted by practically every State in the country. As a consequence, the number of youthful misdemeanants who are yearly spared the prison term and are left free to support their dependents is enormous. New York City alone contains 13,000 probationers, while in New York State the number of convicted persons remaining at large under probationary control actually exceeds the jail and penitentiary population by some 3,000. Yet, as probation authorities point out, there has been no corresponding increase in crime, and our communities are just as safe as they were in the days of more indiscriminate jailing.

The creation of this special probation court, which will be presided over by City Magistrate Alexander Brough, will permit a more intensive study of the individual probationer and of the probation system's results than has been possible under an arrangement of rotating judges and widely scattered court-rooms. There will result a saving of much valuable time for the often overworked probation officer, as well as a cumulative moral effect over the probationer, in that he will be returned for admonishments, commitment, or for final discharge, before the same magistrate who placed him on probation.

There will also be fuller scope in which to test the effects of indeterminate probationing, whereby the length of an offender's term under oversight is decided by his conduct. It will be possible, too, for the judge to keep closer track of what reconstructive work is being done by his officers for their charges. And, finally, he will have special opportunities to establish between himself and the probationer that element of personal interest which is perhaps the most valuable factor in this kind of work.

The court will chiefly concern itself with disorderly conduct cases. New York City's laws as to what tends to create a breach of the peace are of particularly wide scope, covering a multitude of misdemeanors which range from mere rowdyism to "jostling" (*i. e.*, attempted pocket-picking), and hence its probationers consist in large measure of persons who have been convicted on the disorderly conduct charge.

England's eighteenth-century judges of the "bloody assize," with their list of two hundred and twenty-three hanging offenses, would doubtless be amazed could they come back to witness the spectacle of a special magistrate, sitting in a special court, appointed for the oversight of wrong-doers who have been released on promises of good behavior. New York's probation court points the way to a more efficient extra-mural handling of first offenders, and its work will be watched with keen interest throughout the country.



HOUSE-BOATS IN NEW YORK CITY WHICH ARE HELPING TO SOLVE THE RENT PROBLEM
Some are moored close to the shore, and the occupants have the advantage of an attached garden in the summer

HOUSE-BOATS AND HIGH RENTS

IN the Orient hundreds of thousands of people live on boats. They are born, live, and die afloat. Spend an afternoon on the bridges spanning Tokyo's many canals, and you will find whole families living on the clumsy cargo boats or less unwieldy sampans which are poled up and down the odoriferous waterways of Japan's capital. Cruise along the Inland Sea, and then go up and down the China coast. In both places you will find clumsy-looking but seaworthy junks which are the lifetime abode of the men, women, and children who manage them. With the human beings dogs and cats—yes, and ducks and chickens—live in complete contentment.

Necessity is the mother of invention and the father of imitation. Under the pressure of high rents may not Americans imitate Orientals and build their homes on the sea, or at least on bays and rivers? Why not? It is already being done. In New York City, where the demands of landlords have been especially exorbitant of late, a small colony of house-boat dwellers has grown up on the Harlem River. Some of these craft are surrounded by water only at high tide and have small gardens adjacent to their front doors (if landlubber phraseology may be applied to such an almost amphibious institution as a house-boat). Others are afloat all the time. Many of them have such conveniences as electric light, running water, tiled baths, etc. And with the help of a small skiff or a long gangplank they are within a few minutes' walk of subway or trolley. Yet the rent of this sort of home, we are told, is but five or ten dollars a month.

Why not build you a house-boat and laugh at high rents?

"CONCURRENT POWER TO ENFORCE"

IT is generally agreed that the most vital and important question that is to be decided by the United States Supreme Court relating to prohibition is the meaning and force of that clause in the Eighteenth Amendment which declares that "the Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

It would be unwise and imprudent, especially in these days of five-to-four decisions from the Supreme Court, to predict the final outcome. We may, however, properly point out that the two opposing views on this point have lately been admirably presented: the first by a decision of the United States District Court for the State of New Jersey, which denies the right of any State to attempt to override an Act of Congress under the claim of exercising "concurrent power;" the second, which argues that "concurrent power" means joint action by Congress and the State, in an able and exhaustive editorial printed in the "Sun and the New York Herald" of March 18.

We summarize below very briefly the decision of the District Court on this point. It may be premised that the case of Christian Feigenspan, a corporation, against United States officials, asking that they be enjoined from interfering with the sale of what is popularly known as 2.75 beer, was thoroughly presented

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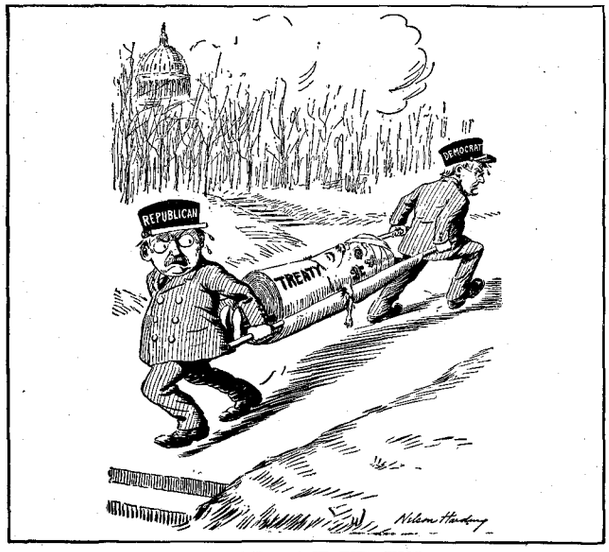
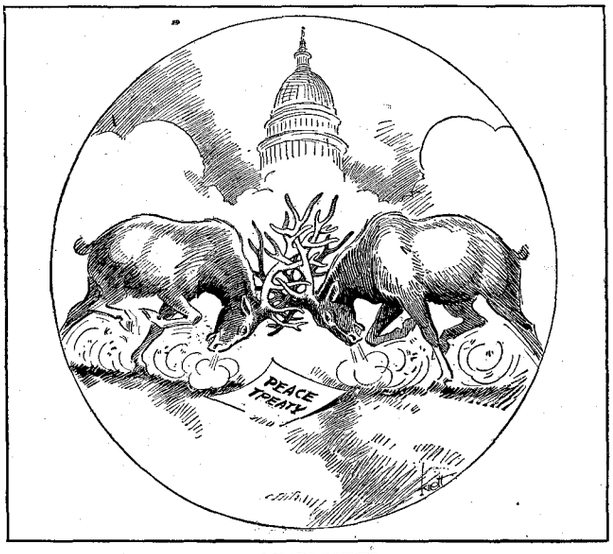
CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

Harding in the Brooklyn Eagle



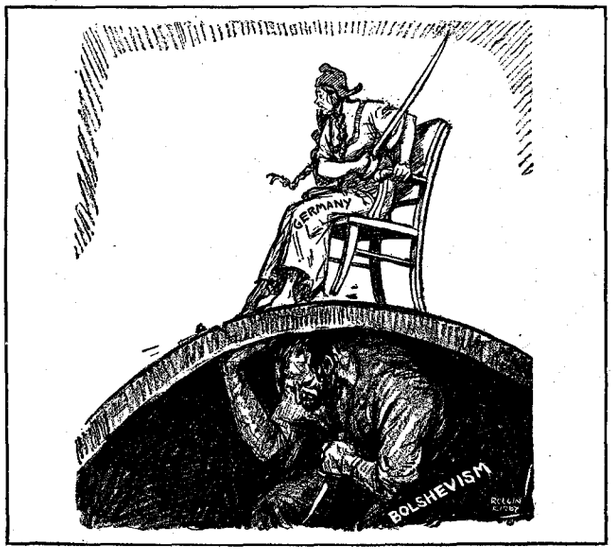
CAN'T EVEN REMOVE THE VICTIM

Knott in the Dallas (Texas) News



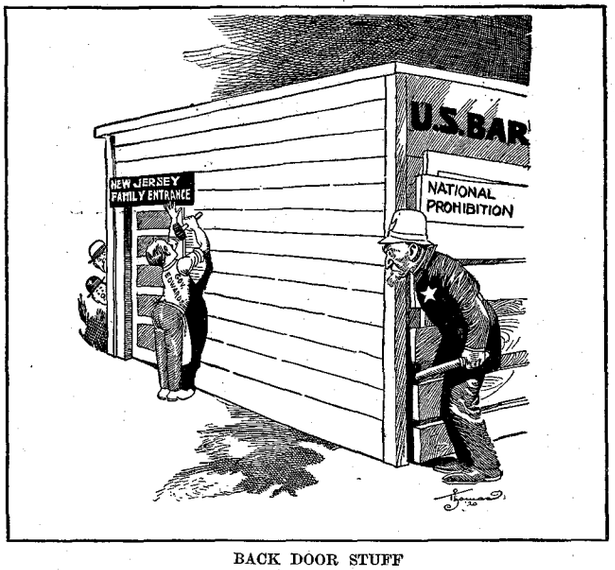
DEADLOCKED

Kirby in the New York World



CAN HE BREAK THROUGH?

Thomas in the Detroit News



BACK DOOR STUFF

Kirby in the New York World

SHUTTING IT OFF

Darling in the New York Tribune

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THE GRAND RUSH OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE

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to the Court, as may be judged when we state that Elihu Root and W. D. Guthrie were of counsel for the plaintiff and Mr. W. B. Wheeler and others assisted in the defense of the Government officials.

This decision was by no means confined to the point as to "concurrent power," for the Court held that both the Amendment and the National Prohibition Act are valid; that there is nothing in the subject-matter of the Amendment incompetent or improper to form part of the Constitution; that there is no usurpation of powers properly belonging to the States alone; that since an amendment of the Constitution provides that future Amendments shall be ratified by the Legislatures of the States, the objection urged as regards States which have a referendum law, namely, that the Amendment should have been submitted to referendum, is of no force; that Congress had a right to define (as it has defined, by the "half of one per cent" provision in the Volstead Law) what intoxicating liquor is; and that the contention that the plaintiff's property has been destroyed without compensation, contrary to the Constitution, has no basis, because Congress has the right to determine whether compensation shall be made when the property (as here) is not taken for public use.

WHAT DOES "CONCURRENT" MEAN?

The discussion by Judge Reilstab of the meaning of the clause "concurrent power to enforce by appropriate legislation" is full and interesting. He rejects any dictionary definition of the word "concurrent" which would restrict the action of Congress and the Legislatures to agreement upon "every phase of the intended enforcing legislation," and even adds that "to impute to Congress and the ratifying States such an impracticable purpose . . . is unthinkable." With equal positiveness he rejects the claim of the brewer-plaintiff that no enforcement act of Congress affecting such a business has legal force or effect unless the State agrees therein. This is further emphasized in this passage of the decision:

> That meaning which will carry out the intended purpose of Congress should be given to this word. The thing sought to be prohibited is the manufacture of and commerce in intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes, and the prohibition extends throughout the United States and all territory subject to its jurisdiction. Only the enforcement of this prohibition is subject to the legislative power, and this power is delegated to both Congress and the several States. If Congressional action to be effective is dependent upon each of the States joining with it in its enforcement legislation, an absolute failure to effect such legislation is not merely possible but decidedly probable.

In another form the anti-nullifying force of this decision is expressed in the words: "When Congress acts to enforce this Amendment, its commands extend throughout the Union." This is certainly plain and direct doctrine. It is supported by a reference to a statement of Chief Justice Marshall, of the United States Supreme Court, many years ago. Justice Marshall said:

> Should this collision [between an act of Congress and New York legislation] exist, it will be immaterial whether those laws were passed in virtue of a concurrent power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States," or in virtue of a power to regulate their domestic trade and police. In one case and the other, the acts of New York must yield to the law of Congress; and the decision sustaining the privilege they confer, against a right given by a law of the Union, must be erroneous. . . . The nullity of any act, inconsistent with the Constitution, is produced by the declaration, that the Constitution is the supreme law.

Finally, Judge Reilstab holds: "The prohibitory section of the Eighteenth Amendment is of National scope and operation, and its efficacy depends upon its being Nationally enforced. Its enforcement section was Nationally envisaged, as was the need of the co-operation of the several States to secure general observance. To carry out such a concept, Congress alone, of all the legislative bodies, must take the lead, and its leadership, when assumed, dominates."

It may be interesting to compare Judge Reilstab's judicial opinion as regards "concurrent power" with an expression of opinion on this point in an editorial in The Outlook of February 5, 1919 (just after the Eighteenth Amendment was adopted). We then said:

> The Amendment gives to the Congress and the several States "concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." This cannot mean that the legislation of the States and of Congress must agree in order to be authoritative. This would be to deprive the States of power which they before possessed. "Concurrent jurisdiction" is defined by the Century Dictionary as "jurisdiction possessed equally by two courts, and, if exercised by one, not usually assumed by the other." This is unquestionably the meaning of the phrase "concurrent power" in the new Amendment to the Federal Constitution. And the traditions of the country and the past decisions of the courts indicate that if the Federal Government and the States both exercise this power the legislation of the Federal Government will supersede that of the several States if they conflict.

This interpretation agrees closely with the opinion now rendered by the Federal District Court. What the Supreme Court will say is quite another matter.

THE TREATY REJECTED

After a year's consideration and debate, the United States Senate has rejected the Treaty of Peace and the Covenant of the League of Nations. The American people are therefore still technically at war with Germany, and practically the only civilized nation outside of the Austro-German confederacy that is not a member of the association of allies formed to keep the peace. Forty-nine Senators voted for the Treaty with the Lodge reservation, and thirty-five voted against it, so that if the United States Constitution permitted a majority instead of two-thirds of the Senate to ratify treaties the historic document signed at Versailles would now have been adopted. Of the thirty-five Senators voting against the Treaty amended by reservations twelve were Republicans and twenty-three Democrats. Among the twelve Republicans are those who want no kind of a League of Nations. Among the twenty-three Democrats there were many who favored some kind of a League of Nations, but who voted against the League with reservations because they wished to support the President.

Most of the deductions which may be made from this final action of the Senate are vague and confusing. There are only two which seem to us to stand out clear and distinct. The first is that the President has been completely and finally defeated so far as his plan for a League is concerned; the second is that the majority of the American people do not want their country isolated from the world, but do desire to enter into some kind of an association of nations to maintain peace, provided that the duties and rights of the United States are more clearly set forth than they are in the Covenant which the President brought back with him from Paris.

To those who place the welfare of the human race above party success, to those who hope that the United States is going to continue to work with the other nations of the world for human justice and human freedom, the result is disappointing—disappointing not merely because we must now wait for a President and Senators who can agree on the terms of international association, but because it shows how petty politics, petty jealousies, and petty obstinacies can affect the judgment and action of men whom the American people have chosen to represent them in the most exalted and responsible stations of statesmanship.

Perhaps in view of the preposterous Irish reservation which the Senate adopted just before it rejected the Treaty *in toto*, it is just as well that the Treaty should have been rejected. This Irish reservation, introduced by Senator Gerry, Demo-

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crat, of Rhode Island, and approved by a vote of 45 to 38 on March 18, urges by implication the recognition of the Irish republic and expresses the wish that Ireland as an independent nation, separated from the British Empire, should be admitted to the League of Nations. If a reservation of this kind had been adopted by the British Parliament with regard to the Southern Confederacy during the Civil War, the United States would have been aflame from the Pacific to the Atlantic coast, and would have favored Secretary Seward's proposal of a declaration of war upon Great Britain. The Senate appears to think that it makes a great deal of difference whose ox is gored! The Senators approving of the Irish reservation have protested that the Covenant of the League of Nations was dangerous because it would draw the United States into foreign complications. What greater or more disastrous foreign complication can be conceived of than a gratuitous affront which, if the English-speaking people of the world were not wholly guided by common sense, might involve us in a war with Great Britain? We agree with the New Orleans "Times-Picayune," which says:

> It is better to have no treaty than a treaty which carries with it reservations and expressions insulting to our former allies, a hodgepodge of pander to alien-minded vote-groups in America and of affront to the comrades in arms of a brief sixteen months ago. It is better to be out of a League of Nations than not to be wholeheartedly and sincerely in a League of Nations.

But this is no time to cry over spilled milk. It is a time for the intelligent and reasonable and patriotic men and women of the country to gather themselves together, individually and collectively, and determine what can be wisely done to reorganize our own Government and how it shall take its place properly in the community of nations.

LEST WE FORGET

WE have received from a reader of The Outlook in the South a personal letter which is so much to the point that we quote from it as follows:

> Just after the hue and cry about the transfer of the Dewey home to the Admiral's wife some paper printed a cartoon showing Dewey on the bridge of his vessel in Manila Harbor, with the inscription, "Lest We Forget."
>
> Somehow or other it hit me right between the eyes. In our personal and National disposition to grovel among the things that are low and the things that are objectionable we forget the wonders of accomplishment.
>
> Looking out upon a glorious country, a wonderful and a resourceful and a religious people; living in and with the greatest Government ever devised by man; honoring our democracy and loving each other;—why not move up into the light of the real sunshine that is possible for us?
>
> To use a commercial term, we ought to re-sell our country and its citizens to ourselves. After all, the bad in business, in politics, and in every-day life is the very small minority. But that minority makes so much fuss and keeps itself so much in the limelight that we get to thinking after a while that it is the whole thing.
>
> Gee! but I would like to see a series of articles covering the worth-while things of our people! I am so smothered and disgusted with dirt and filth and accusations and recriminations and charges that the sunshine would mean more to me now than at any time in all my life.

A good suggestion!

We are still at war with Germany; but we have not made war on Mexico, in spite of many provocations.

Doubtless the United States Shipping Board has been mismanaged in some particulars; but we have a larger and better merchant marine than we have ever had before in our history.

Bolsheviki and other Red revolutionaries have tried to honeycomb our industrial and political systems; and yet the labor strikes of the past twelve months have been settled with less violence, less disorder, and less hatred, and with a greater display of common sense on both sides than has ever been displayed before in labor disputes in this country.

The high cost of living is a burden and is in some respects almost intolerable; and yet there have been no bread lines and soup kitchens in our great cities this winter.

Inadequate pay and political meddling threaten our public school system with very great danger; and yet the great majority of the splendid boys and girls who did our war work in danger of their lives at the western front are graduates of public schools and high schools.

A deputy commissioner of the New York municipal police force has just been indicted for corruption; and yet thousands of policemen in various cities and towns of the country are maintaining order, protecting the weak, and making traffic on our crowded streets safe for the passengers.

There are some clergymen false to their trust and some churches that engage in vituperating quarrels over non-essential dogmas; and yet the churches of this country are maintaining men's clubs and women's clubs and boys' clubs and girls' clubs and beds in hospitals and vast organizations of human helpfulness that have had no superiors in history.

There are some quacks and some money-grabbers among the doctors; and yet thousands of American physicians are giving their services free to hospital clinics and dispensaries, and the world has never seen a time when so much has been done without pay or remuneration, or even praise, for the alleviation of human suffering.

The Treaty has failed and the United States is not in the League of Nations; and yet in the Interchurch World Movement we have a league of American men and women who are proposing to contribute three hundred million dollars to the work of promoting peace and good will throughout the world by teaching and healing.

Let us do everything we can constructively to improve social, moral, and governmental efficiency; but let us claim the right, which we certainly have, to cheer ourselves with the fact that there was never a time in the world's history when there were so many men and women working heartily and sincerely to make the world a decent, just, comfortable, and intelligent place to live in.

THE INDEPENDENTS' EXHIBIT

THE fourth annual exhibition of the Society of Independent Artists, held from March 11 to April 1 at the Waldorf Astoria, New York City, evokes thought—which is perhaps the best of possible justification for its existence.

The Society of Independent Artists was formed as a protest against the ways of conventional-minded art juries and hanging committees. Any artist (and each individual is accepted as the sole judge of his or her right to that title) is, under the Society's system, entitled to send two works of art to its annual exhibition in return for the payment of an annual fee of ten dollars. All pictures are hung alphabetically and no prizes are awarded.

The result of the application of such a system can be easily realized. Good, bad, and indifferent pictures joggle each other as indiscriminately as crowds at a subway rush hour. The pictures range in character from kittens playing with knitting-balls and robins nesting in helmets and singing their little hearts out in an abandon of Victorian sentiment, to a cacophony of spaghetti (the comparison is mixed, but so is the painting) entitled "After the Bath."

Many pictures of the conventional type were characterless and handled muddily. Most of the pictures of the modern school were meaningless and, what is worse from the modern view-point, utterly lacking in spontaneity. If an artist is to go the limit in the rebellion against J. G. Brownism, he ought at least to have something to say and the power to say that something colorfully and freshly. A portrait of somebody's soul in which the brush work gives away the secret of its laborious

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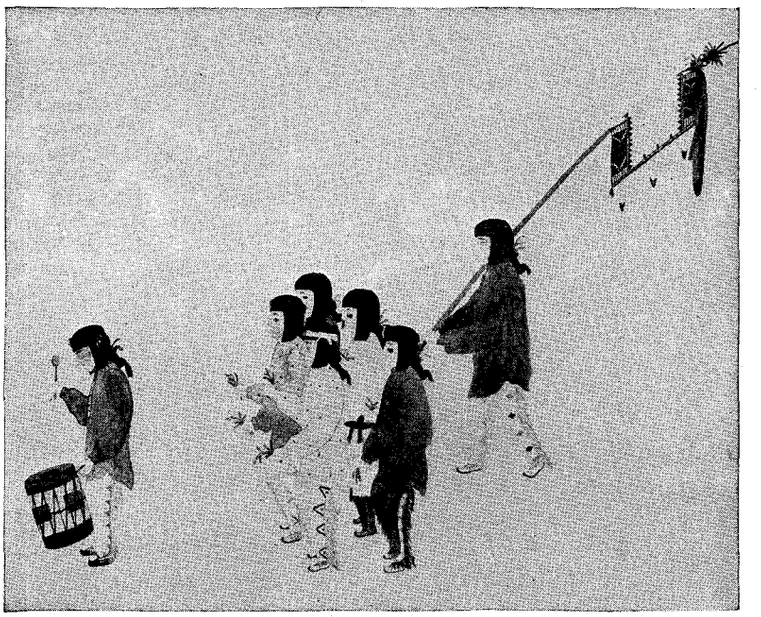

(C) Keystone View Co.

THE EAGLE DANCER, BY TA-E

THE PROCESSION, BY ALFONSO ROYBAL

creation does not even carry the conviction of sincerity.

As a cross-section of American art this last exhibition could not be considered a success. The older and better-established artists were hardly represented at all. The best of those painting in the newer manner were likewise inadequately represented. One of the few prominent artists in this group adequately represented was George Bellows, who showed a remarkably fine half-nude study of a woman. The quality of this picture was so self-evident that it killed the effect of most of the pictures in the room where it was hung. But there was nothing, for example, in the exhibition from the brush of Arthur B. Davies, nor was Rockwell Kent represented by even a single canvas.

Perhaps the most effective feature of the exhibit was the group of pictures by American Indians, sent to the exhibition from the collections of Dr. Edgar L. Hewitt, of the Santa Fé Museum, and of Mrs. Mabel Dodge Sterne. The primitive vigor, the rhythm, and the sincerity of these Indian pictures made the work of many of their paleface rivals look very pale indeed. Two of these pictures, done by Pueblo Indians, are reproduced on this page. In their original colors they are even more effective than they are in black and white.

The shortcomings of this exhibition were the inevitable corollaries of its virtues. It is an excellent thing to give every one interested in the production of art a day in court. It certainly affords at least a safety-valve for the feelings of those excluded from other exhibitions by the conventional jury system. But it is not right to say that the Independents' exhibit is necessarily more democratic than the exhibit of the National Academy, for democracy does not mean that every citizen shall have the right to sit in a legislative chamber. The Independents' exhibit corresponds to the equivalent of "free speech for artists," and free speech is an excellent thing, even though we do not have to believe everything that we hear.

We wish that it might be possible another year for the Independents to give a loan exhibition of some of the best American canvases in connection with their annual exhibition. It would be interesting to make an immediate comparison between the work of Winslow Homer, for instance, and that of some of the present exhibitors. Such a comparative exhibit might help in the production of sounder standards and towards an appreciation of what constitutes honest work.

One of the fundamental tenets of the Society of Independent Artists is "no jury." We wish, however, that it would depart from this ideal far enough to adopt the following suggestion. The illustrations in its catalogue are printed, not because of merit, but frankly because the expense of the illustration has been met by the artist whose work is reproduced. We wish it could be arranged for exhibitors to vote for the illustrations to be included in the catalogue. In this way all possibility of favoritism would be removed and the public might attain to some idea as to what these exhibitors themselves considered good art. If some of the pictures in such a poll received more than one vote we would consider it *prima facie* evidence that their creators (as in the case of the Republican who received two votes in a certain Mississippi election) had stuffed the ballot-box.

A LENTEN TALK

THE GLORY OF GOOD FRIDAY

WE cannot appreciate Yorktown save by contrasting it with Valley Forge. That long, gloomy, seemingly hopeless winter at Valley Forge was the real test and glory of American fiber.

So, as we look at the black cross on Good Friday, it suddenly shines back to us again, aglow with the light and glory of the coming Easter. The cross still stands against a grave, but out of the grave rises the conqueror of death. Why should we grope in a Good Friday darkness when through it we can see a triumphant Easter?

Good Friday has often overshadowed Easter. It should do so no longer, for Easter now reflects itself back into Good Friday. What we have been singing mournfully we finish radiantly: "In the cross of Christ I glory." In Good Friday Easter has already begun.

When we have gone on from this Easter into the days that are to come, what then? We shall meet the same old world, we shall meet the same old self—much as we may think we have changed them. The world of affliction is also the world of temptation. It is always appealing to our waywardnesses. At first we may recoil from temptation. But resistance means suffering, and we often weakly succumb because we are not quite willing to pay the price of delivering ourselves from sin's bondage.

This is the Good Friday lesson—not

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merely to try better to appreciate what crucifixion meant nineteen hundred years ago, but to go on to our own Gethsemane and Golgotha, if loyalty to ourselves and to our God requires it of us. Thus the Good Friday lesson is not passive but active.

Yet that is only half the lesson. The other half—the Easter half—is indissolubly bound with it. It is an immediate part and sequence of it. The basis for an Easter or any other victory is the power to will it and to endure the cost. In the resolve to use that power and endurance comes not only the strength for battle; to him who believes there also comes the *immediate* glow and glory of certain triumph. The battle may seem long as it stretches before our vision, but the radiance of victory already shines upon our arms. We conquer evil only when we take the burden of it upon ourselves.

THE TREATY WITH GERMANY: A REVIEW

IT is the habit of Americans, partly the result of temperament and partly of geographical position, to take less interest in foreign than in domestic affairs. But every American has been interested in one international subject—our war with Germany. And all have been interested in the consequent treaty of peace with Germany.

President McKinley's Example

At the close of our war with Spain, President McKinley appointed a commission to negotiate peace. It consisted, as was proper, of three Senators, the Senate being a co-equal body with the Executive in passing upon treaties; furthermore, of one Justice of the Supreme Court and one diplomat.

At the close of active hostilities with Germany, President Wilson also appointed a commission to negotiate peace. It also had five members—namely, Mr. Wilson, himself, as head, assisted by the Secretary of State, a General of the Army, a diplomat, and a personal friend. Instead of following President McKinley's example in appointing two Senators from his own party and one from the opposition to form a majority of the Peace Commission, Mr. Wilson surprised and affronted the Senate by naming no one from that body.

In December, 1918, this Commission went to Paris. The Armistice with Germany had been signed a month earlier. Of course the Commission's foremost and, to many observers, exclusive duty thereafter was to make peace with Germany as soon as possible.

The treaty was duly made. Among other things it provided for:

The cession to France of Alsace-Lorraine, and to Poland of a still greater territory.

The conditional cession to France of the Sarre basin.

A fifteen-year Allied occupation of the left bank of the Rhine and the bridgehead.

The dismantling of certain forts and fortifications.

The demobilization of the German army so that the force would ultimately not exceed 100,000.

The demobilization and reduction of the German navy and air service.

The cession to the Allies of many German merchant ships.

The payment by Germany to the Allies in money, as far as possible, of her damages to them.

The application of a popular vote to certain German districts, to determine whether they would remain German or be assigned to Belgium, Denmark, and Poland.

Recognition of the independence of Czechoslovakia, Poland, and German Austria.

Renunciation of all colonies and cession to Japan of German rights and privileges in the Chinese province of Shantung.

In Europe the provisions to excite adverse comment were those which it was claimed "let Germany off easy," in general, and, in particular, permitted the old Prussian leadership to rule to the disadvantage of the South German states. In this country the only provision to excite marked adverse comment was that with regard to the Chinese province of Shantung, apparently guaranteeing Japanese ambitions there as an offset for Japan's ousting of Germany from Asia, and apparently contradicting the principles of equal opportunity emphasized by John Hay and Elihu Root. Thereupon, when, after July 10, 1919, the German treaty, signed at Versailles on June 28, came before the Senate, it made a reservation concerning the Shantung provision. With this exception the Senate is willing to see the treaty proper with Germany go into effect.

President Wilson's Ideal

The incredible delay between the date of the armistice, November 11, 1918, and the date when President Wilson sent the Treaty to the Senate, was due to the insistence of Mr. Wilson, Lord Robert Cecil, and others to include in it a charter for a League of Nations. They proclaimed, in Mr. Wilson's words:

> We are here to see that the very foundations of this war are swept away. Those foundations were the private choice of a small coterie of civil rulers and military staffs. Those foundations were the aggression of great powers upon the small. Those foundations were the holding together of empires of unwilling subjects by the duress of arms. Those foundations were the power of small bodies of men to . . . use mankind as pawns in a game.

At first the prospect seemed fair for speedier results, for on January 25, 1919, the representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and the United States passed a resolution condensed as follows:

> It is essential to the maintenance of the world's settlement that a League of Nations be created to promote international obligations and to provide safeguards against war.
>
> This League should be created as an integral part of the general Treaty of Peace.

On February 14, 1919, the representatives of fourteen nations (the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Brazil, China, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Serbia) unanimously reported a charter for the League of Nations.

The League's First Charter

It proposed to do these things among others:

> To act as a mutual insurance company against war by forbidding aggressive war for political or territorial advantage, by forbidding member-nations from going to war until their disputes had been considered by an International Council, and providing that any nation failing to comply should be subject to economic ostracism, and even to any necessary military or naval measure.
>
> To create an international court of arbitral justice.
>
> To reduce armaments.
>
> To appoint mandates for backward nations.
>
> To compel the publicity of all international agreements.
>
> To secure fairer conditions of labor by setting up an international labor bureau.

With this inspiring programme in his pocket, President Wilson left Paris for a very short visit to America, doubtless hoping to return with a national mandate in his other pocket. If so, he reckoned without the opposition of most of the members who compose the body the approval of which is necessary to any treaty, namely, the opposition of all but one of the Republican and of many Democratic Senators. However exalted his purpose, however much he might assert, as he did on March 4, 1919, on the eve of his return to Paris, that "nothing has to be explained to me in America," he did return to Paris with lessened prestige, because of the necessity of learning of the changes desired by Americans in order to transform the vague first charter of the League of Nations into something more definite; indeed, as an eminent authority remarked of it, "from the standpoint of enforcing international law it is not worth the paper it is written on." Some of these objections were as follows:

> The League's charter should not be included in the Peace Treaty.
>
> There should be an efficient arrangement for enforcing the League's provisions and decisions.

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The Monroe Doctrine should be sanctioned and our right not challenged in preventing a non-American nation from contravening the principle of that doctrine.

Such subjects as immigration, the tariff, naturalization, and citizenship should be in terms excluded from the charter's scope as domestic questions.

Our obligation with regard to territorial integrity of nations should be determined by Congress.

Mandatory powers should be subject to the will of national parliaments.

There is no provision for an international army or an international general staff.

There are no regulations concerning either racial or religious discrimination or racial or religious equality.

The withdrawal of any nation is not provided for.

A redraft of the charter should be provided for to take place several years later in a different atmosphere from that succeeding a great war.

In any case, there must be at stated intervals a revision of international law by the body of delegates.

Thus the question in the Senate was not, "Shall a treaty proper with Germany be signed or not?" Nor was it, "Shall there be a League of Nations or not?" To the first question every one, both in the Senate and in the country at large, said "Yes." And to the second question nineteen, say, out of every twenty Americans said "Yes." But the twentieth said "No." He was represented in the Senate by such Republicans as Mr. Johnson of California, Mr. Poindexter of Washington, and Mr. Borah of Idaho, and by such Democrats as Mr. Reed of Missouri. Subsequent events show that no less than fifteen Senators finally voted against and eighty for a League.

It is interesting to add that among the Presidential possibilities, the Democratic candidates all support the League, and that General Wood, Governor Lowden, Senator Harding, and Mr. Hoover are also supporters of the League.

The Second League Charter

The amending influence of the above suggestions was seen in the draft of the second charter. It was a great improvement on the first. But even it was unsatisfactory, for in the opinion of the majority it needed certain changes, and these changes are reflected in the Senate's preamble and in its resolution of ratification. The preamble declares that the Senate consents to the ratification of the treaty "subject to the following reservations and understandings," thereby "made a part and condition of this resolution of ratification." The principal items are as follows:

In case of withdrawal from the League of Nations the United States shall be sole judge as to whether all its international obligations have been fulfilled.

The United States assumes no obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country by the employment of military or naval forces unless Congress shall so provide.

No mandate shall be accepted except by action of Congress.

The United States reserves to itself exclusively the right to decide what questions are within its domestic jurisdiction.

The United States will not submit to arbitration any questions relating to the Monroe Doctrine.

The United States withholds its assent to the Shantung settlement.

No person shall represent the United States as a member of any body established by the German Treaty except pursuant to an Act of Congress.

The United States understands that the Reparations Commission will regulate trade between the United States and Germany only when Congress approves such regulations.

The United States shall not be obligated to contribute to any expenses of the League of Nations unless Congress make appropriation.

No plan for armament limitation shall be held as binding the United States until Congress shall have accepted it.

The United States shall be entitled to cast a number of votes equal to that which any member of the League and its self-governing dominions, colonies, or parts of empires in the aggregate shall be entitled to cast.

These reservations, as Mr. Hoover has well said, should satisfy the most timid as to entanglements. As to action he reflected the opinion of most Americans in declaring that the President, despite his belief that the Treaty's strength is undermined, should accept them.

The Final Fiasco in America

A fatal finishing touch was to come to the reservations. The last of all was a meddlesome reservation concerning Ireland, a pandering to the Irish-American vote in this country, to gain which a majority of Senators exceeded their Constitutional powers by writing into the ratifying resolution something not referred to in the Treaty. The reservation reads:

The United States adheres to the principle of self-determination and to the resolution of sympathy with the aspiration of the Irish people for a government of their own choice adopted by the Senate, June 6, 1919, and declares that, when such government is attained by Ireland . . . it should promptly be admitted as a member of the League of Nations.

The humor of the situation is seen in the fact that, under the preamble, Great Britain and the other Allied Powers must approve this resolution.

Within a few hours of the passage of this resolution, the Senate, on March 19, 1920, rejected a resolution to ratify the whole treaty. On November 19, 1919, it had rejected the treaty with 41 voting for and 51 against ratification with the reservations already passed. On March 19, 1920, with additional reservations, the treaty was definitely rejected by 35 voting against and 49 for ratification.

No Fiasco with the Other Powers

So much for America's connection with the Treaty of Versailles. As to other nations, it has been approved by one and another until for most of the Powers the world war ended formally by January of this year. On January 10 representatives of fourteen Powers which had approved the Treaty deposited their certificates of ratification and signed the document putting the Treaty into effect. These Powers were Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, Panama, Peru, Poland, Siam, and Uruguay. They were of course all signatories of the Treaty of Versailles. Since then six other belligerents (Cuba, Ecuador, Haiti, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua) have signed. In addition, thirteen neutral nations (Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Holland, Norway, Paraguay, Persia, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Venezuela) have been invited to become original members of the League. All have accepted. There are thus thirty-three members.

The League was thus born on January 10, 1920. It was decided at the meeting on that date that the first assemblage of the Council, or Upper House, of the League should occur six days later.

Accordingly, on January 16, in the Clock Room of the French Foreign Ministry, a few men gathered around a green table and put the machinery in motion. They were the representatives of the great organizing Powers—Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan—and the representatives of four smaller nations. Under the terms of the League the Great Powers are to invite any four smaller nations to participate in the proceedings of the Council of the League. The invited nations were Belgium, Brazil, Greece, and Spain. Of the five Great Powers always to be represented in the Council, America alone was unrepresented.

The second meeting occurred later in London. Until the seat of the League is definitely fixed at Geneva the Council's sessions may be of an itinerant nature, taking place at times in Paris, London, Brussels, Rome, or wherever suitable.

Thus, whether we join or not, the League is a going concern.

The Future

What of the immediate future?

What will the President do? Will he return the Treaty to the Senate, accepting its reservations? Or will he return the Treaty, suggesting a compromise between his wish for ratification of the treaty just as signed at Versailles and the Senate's reservations? Or will he do nothing?

If he does nothing, will the Senate do something?

Will it and the House pass the Knox joint resolution (introduced many months ago to end the present state of technical war by a declaration that peace exists between America and Germany) and urge the President to sign it? If he refuses, there may be enough votes to pass it over his veto. In this case the resolution would have the effect of law.

Or will the Senate request the Presi-

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dent to frame a separate peace treaty with Germany?

Or will it ask him to negotiate a *modus vivendi* both with Germany and with our allies, leaving the question of the League to what the President has called the Nation's "solemn referendum"—or, in other words, the Presidential election of next November?

AMERICA'S EMPTY OIL BARREL

A WELL-KNOWN economist once said: "Coal and iron are the blood of industry." To-day, however, a third commodity is just as important to industry as coal and iron, namely, petroleum. While the attention of Americans has been centered on the war in Europe, the Peace Treaty, the high cost of living, and so on, the United States has been sliding into an awkward predicament with regard to crude oil. Since the first American well began producing oil at Bradford, Pennsylvania, sixty-one years ago, the United States has produced two-thirds of the world's petroleum. To-day we are still the largest single producer of oil, but we are also by far the largest consumer of it. To-day America is consuming three-quarters of the world's oil. In 1919 we produced some 376,000,000 barrels of oil, which was considerably less than we consumed. And the fact that we are now consuming more than we produce is bringing us face to face with a crisis.

July, 1919, marked the peak of domestic petroleum production with 33,894,000 barrels. Since that month there has been a gradual decline in production and a steady increase in consumption. In January, 1920, the total consumption reached 39,500,000 barrels. The previous highest mark had been August, 1919, 37,488,000 barrels. (It will be noted that summer months, when automobile traffic is heavier, are always marked by greater consumption than winter months, so we can expect the figures for January consumption to be surpassed the coming summer.) In this month of January we produced some 7,000,000 barrels less than we consumed. Now, on January 1 we had on hand a reserve of petroleum sufficient to last only one hundred days. At the present date, therefore, this reserve has already been considerably reduced, and there is every indication that it will soon be wiped out. It is a serious question what we shall then do for oil. The oil-fields of Mexico are our main foreign support, and we are already drawing on them for three-quarters of their output. (Last year Mexico exported 80,000,000 barrels of petroleum, of which 60,000,000 went to the United States.)

The American Government is seriously concerned over the oncoming oil shortage. When our new shipping programme is completed on July 1, 1920, our merchant marine and Navy combined will need 200,000,000 barrels a year. We have seven and one-half million automobiles in the United States—to less than a million in England, France, and Germany combined—and so rapidly is the number of American motorists increasing that an automobile expert has just estimated that in 1925 the United States will require 800,000,000 barrels of oil for her automobiles alone. This may be an excessive estimate, but the growing oil consumption of our motor cars will certainly bring us face to face with a crisis unless either vast new oil deposits or a good substitute for gasoline is discovered.

It may be permissible to give just one more set of figures to show how rapidly our consumption of petroleum is increasing. The average daily consumption in the United States for the month of December, 1919, was 1,048,645 barrels. For the next month, the month of January, the average daily consumption was 1,131,839 barrels, an average increase of 83,000 barrels a day.

In the face of this impending oil crisis America is doing nothing. Her policy is a notable contrast to that of Great Britain, a country which realized the importance of petroleum a few years ago and which has been taking steps that will give Great Britain the oil mastery of the world within a few years unless America takes drastic measures for her own protection at once. Recently the British passed a law forbidding any foreigner to own a square foot of oil land in any British territory or even to own stock in any British oil concern. Yet Britons own oil land in every important oil-producing district of the United States and are making every effort to increase their holdings. British interests to-day control three-quarters of the reserve oil territory of the world. The United States has no new big fields in sight, and it is estimated that all present oil-producing land in the United States will be practically exhausted in twenty years. England is helping to exhaust American oil through the development of her holdings in this country, and, of course, the sooner our oil is exhausted the sooner her great holdings of reserve territory in other quarters of the world will make her complete master of the petroleum market.

For more than ten years the Pearson interests, which are now controlled by the British Government, have held great oil territories in Mexico through concessions. In most of these oil-fields not so much as a post hole has been sunk, although the Pearson interests have made considerable development on privately owned leases. Three years ago the Mexican Government quite properly decided that all holders of oil property in Mexico ought either to do a certain amount of developing or to pay taxes to the Government. On May 15, 1917, accordingly, the Mexican Government put into effect a law which declared that the ultimate ownership of all oil discovered from that date on should be considered as resting with the Mexican nation, and that all concerns leasing oil-fields from then on should be required to pay to the Government a rental of five pesos per hectare, or five per cent royalty on oil produced every year, and that when the royalty exceeded the rental—as it would once real production was begun—no rental should be paid. The majority of the foreign oil interests have not yet complied with this law. Instead, according to the statements of American oil men and Mexican Government officials, they have been bringing to bear great pressure to produce American intervention in Mexico.

The men whom I have interviewed have two remedies to suggest. First, they say that unless Great Britain repeals her law which prevents Americans owning oil in British territory the American Congress ought to pass a law preventing British citizens from owning oil in the United States. Second, and this they consider more important, they say that the American Government ought to be aroused by popular demand, if possible, to the importance of protecting and fostering legitimate American industrial expansion in foreign countries, and particularly, in this connection, industrial expansion in the shape of American acquisition of oil-fields in foreign countries. This sort of governmental encouragement of private enterprise has been used to a large degree by the British. Not the least valuable result of the war from the point of view of the British has been their acquisition of exclusive oil rights in Persia, Mesopotamia, and North Africa. I do not mean to suggest that what the British have done in the acquisition of oil is illegitimate or improper, but rather I mean to imply that we ought to go and do likewise.

Most of the American oil men with whom I have talked are opposed to American intervention in Mexico. They consider the present oil regulations in Mexico fair (the threatened retroactive confiscatory decree sponsored by Cabrera, Secretary of the Treasury, has failed). These American oil men consider it ridiculous that when we are depending in no slight degree on Mexico for oil we should maintain a policy of constant bickering with our southern neighbor. As an example of what can be done by an intriguing diplomacy, one of my informants tells me that some Americans have been instrumental in securing the passage of a law by a certain Latin-American country which prohibits the granting of oil rights and concessions to all foreigners except Americans. This sort of legislation and legislative lobbying merely invites commercial reprisals. But the fact remains that the crisis which we will soon have to face as the result of the gradual exhaustion of our oil reserve and the constant pyra-

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miding of consumption is of such National importance as to demand careful investigation followed by adequate action on the part of the American Government. Until and unless a substitute for oil is discovered no nation can be at all secure in the enjoyment of the position of a great Power without an adequate supply of petroleum. GREGORY MASON.

KNOLL PAPERS

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

USING BUT NOT ABUSING

Your article on "Feasting and Dancing" (The Outlook of February 4, 1920) seems to me not so much untrue as unnecessary. Do you think that there is any considerable tendency to asceticism in the opinion or practice of the Church in America at present? Your argument is apparently addressed to a vanished generation. Would not your pen be employed more wisely in protesting against the all too prevalent excesses of dancing and the theater than in berating the few lingering survivals of ancient Puritanism? May I respectfully remind you of a thing you must have observed, that vice is always ready to distort and use for selfish ends those utterances of religious teachers which condemn narrowness and to pass by unheeded such good counsel as does not suit its purpose? I must conclude, then, that your article is not only useless but harmful.

While agreeing with your contention that dancing *per se* is not sinful, I cannot quite approve your manner of reasoning, because, first, you yourself have taught me over and over that Christ did not announce rules but principles. In this article you write: "He has never said, Do not dance." Well, what of that? I am a smoker; but I would not think of justifying smoking by urging that Christ never said, Do not smoke. That omission is immaterial. It is my duty to apply the principles of his teaching, and decide for myself whether the habit of smoking is in harmony therewith. Ought not dancing to be judged in the same way? Can any one imagine that the phallicism of the latest ballroom indecencies is in accordance with the teaching of Jesus as to social purity? Certainly *you* do not. But Jesus did not specifically forbid the tango and similar or worse performances. The logic you permit yourself in this article would therefore justify tango, etc.

Second, I appeal again from you to yourself. You say that Christ's references to dancing imply his approval. And yet no one has taught me more clearly the folly of a crass literalism in the interpretation of Scripture. Ordinarily you would scout the idea of utilizing every single detail of a parable for doctrinal purposes. A parable must not be made to go "on all fours," we have frequently been told. Now what parable, please, did Jesus utter with the object of giving instruction upon dancing? Is not dancing in every case a mere realistic touch without doctrinal significance? Do you think he approved the dishonesty of the unjust steward? Yet there is no clear intimation of his disapproval. Has the fact of dancing any necessary connection with the story of the Prodigal Son? If not, we may assume, indeed we must, that the Master at that particular time was not considering the ethics of dancing at all. He mentioned dancing, I suppose, because it conveyed to his hearers a vivid idea of the great joy of the prodigal's return; but to say that he thereby expresses approval is to say too much. No. You have so often warned me to recognize the poetry of Oriental speech that I cannot follow you in basing an argument upon a figure of speech taken literally.

I like best your "Knoll Papers" that are reminiscent or inspiring. I do not like your demolishing such a man of straw as contemporary opposition to the dance. J. B. E.

"FAITHFUL are the wounds of a friend." I like the spirit of this letter so much that I publish it in its entirety. I do not think that there is any considerable tendency to asceticism in the Church in America, but I think there is a very prevalent feeling among young people that Christianity is asceticism, that the Church is opposed to recreation and enjoyments of youth which youth regard as wholly innocent, and that the churches and the ministers furnish more prohibitions than inspirations. I want to see the churches and the ministers interpret to the young people the meaning of Christ's saying, "I have come to give life and to give it more abundantly," or of that other saying, "The truth shall make you free." I want to see them substituting for wholesale condemnation of cards, dancing, theaters, and feasting the inculcation of principles and the imparting of a spirit which will enable their hearers to discriminate between the good and the evil in these recreations.

A mother learned that her son was spending his evenings playing cards with the coachman in the stable. She said not a word of rebuke to him, but she bought a pack of cards, and after supper proposed to him to have a game of cribbage with her. I think she was a wise mother.

The Interchurch World Movement recently financed a spectacular play entitled "The Wayfarer," devised and constructed to give the spectators in a pictorial and dramatic form a presentation of the significance and progress of Christianity, and many ministers in New York recommended their congregations to go to this play. I think the Interchurch World Movement did a very wise thing.

I visit in a family where the father after supper occasionally sits down to the piano and his two little girls dance to his playing. One of them has invented a very pretty dance. I think this is a wise father.

Some churches have established men's clubs which on stated occasions give a dinner where the men of the congregation assemble for a social time, where smoking is not prohibited, where good food is provided either by the ladies of the church or by a caterer, and where at the close of the supper usually some speeches are made on some social, ethical, or spiritual topic. I think this is a wise addition to the ministry of the church and provides exercises as religious as is fasting.

I would like to see the churches everywhere teach the young people how to discriminate between the good and the evil in life. I would like to see them everywhere recognize the truth that there is nothing sinful in the dramatic instinct, nothing sinful in the instinctive inclination to rhythmic motion in harmony with rhythmic music, nothing sinful in the social pleasures of the supper table; that Christianity is a life of liberty, not of servitude.

What my correspondent and some other correspondents of like opinion have written about the perils of cards, dancing, theaters, and feasting I recognize as true. The remedy for those perils Paul makes clear in his first letter to the Corinthians. Writing to his disciples living in the most corrupt city in what was perhaps the most corrupt nation at what was perhaps the most corrupt epoch in the world's history, he said to them: "All things are yours; whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come; all are yours; and ye are Christ's; and Christ is God's."

All teachers, all material things, all activities, the end of all earthly things and earthly activities, all things present, all things yet to come, belong to the disciple of Christ, because he belongs to Christ and Christ belongs to God. They belong to him as the hospital belongs to the physician, and the college, with all its equipments—library, lecture-rooms, campus, gymnasium, athletic field—belongs to the student to use for his own upbuilding and the upbuilding of his fellow-men. I urge fathers and mothers to guard their young people against the perils of life, rarely by prohibitions, habitually by inculcating, by word, example, and a pure and elevated personality, the life of consecration which takes the world with all it contains and man with all his native faculties and desires and consecrates them to the largest liberty and the highest life.

The whole of my philosophy on this subject is summed up in the phrase:

Use this world as not abusing it.

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THE VICTOR

BY AMELIA JOSEPHINE BURR

"Many waters cannot quench love,
Neither can the floods drown it."

Let others climb to the housetop walk
When the sails of the fleet give back the sun.
I go my ways with a quiet heart,
For my housetop days are done.

When the petrels dive in the angry spray
And the flags are up for a northeast gale,
I tryst the sea on the weedy sands—
But not for a homing sail.

When the wind goes keening the graveless dead
Through the huddled heart of the island town,
I cross the moor to the howling reef
Where his ship went down.

He was so proud of his strength, my man!
Strong and brave to the last, he died
Fighting the strongest foe in the world
In the hour of its fiercest pride.

You have broken his body, but not my heart—
Yours is a barren triumph, Sea!
For not if your waters covered the world
Could they keep his soul from me.

KEEPING SWEDEN SOBER

BY ARTHUR RUHL

STOCKHOLM, as everybody knows, is one of the cleanest and brightest of capitals. So is Helsingfors, just across the gulf in Finland. Helsingfors might give lessons in the municipal amenities to almost any American city, although it is tucked away in the north, in a bare little land of rock and lakes and birch trees, in the latitude of the southern end of Greenland.

I do not happen to know of any American city so consistently clean and well built. They post no bills in Helsingfors. They tie them around posts with strings, and when they have served their purpose they disappear, strings and all. Every morning there is a market on the broad quay at the end of the Esplanade; fish, flowers, meat, and vegetables—even Oregon apples, which contrive, in spite of distance and almost prohibitive rates of exchange, to cross the sixtieth parallel. A few minutes after noon you would never know a market had been there. Stalls fold up, rubbish disappears, street-cleaners turn on the hose, and presently the quay is as clean as a tennis court.

The Helsingfors gas tanks are not the dismal contraptions that disfigure most of our water-fronts. The tank itself may be the same, but they build a neat brick house for it—a sort of monumental round-house, with stone wreaths around the top by way of frieze, quite in place among buildings intended for politer uses, and not without some suggestion of the Castle of St. Angelo in Rome.

The Swedes, like most northern peoples, are inclined to be hard drinkers. That is to say, they consume a good deal of alcohol, and their favorite drinks are "hard" drinks—brandy, schnapps, arrack punch—rather than the wine of south or the beer of middle Europe. Yet you may tramp from one end of Stockholm to another without seeing a saloon. There are none. There are municipally controlled wine and spirit stores, as prim as branch libraries; not unlike branch libraries, indeed, for the clerks are mostly women, and the purchasers may get nothing without their permit cards, which are stamped with the amount and character of their purchase, just as if they were carrying away books instead of bottles. In these a certain limited amount of liquor may be bought to be consumed elsewhere.

There are municipally controlled restaurants of various classes, and of course private hotels and restaurants, where wine and spirits may be had with meals. But the nearest approach to the old-fashioned New York corner saloon would be one of the municipal restaurants of the third class; a clean and sanitary place, open to view, with a rather attractive, old-fashioned wrought-iron signboard swinging in front of the door; inside, tables, trim waitresses, music, perhaps, in the evening; a strictly limited amount of spirits to be had, and that only after buying a substantial meal.

In short, here is another example of that enlightened Scandinavian municipal housekeeping; of care and method in a matter in which we at home have been rather noticeably careless. A stranger could scarcely look into these places without being aware, whether or not he had ever heard of the "Stockholm System" or of Dr. Ivan Bratt, that some one had spent a good deal of intelligent thought on them, not to say a certain humor and urbane taste. Such, at any rate, was my own impression, and all the glimpses I had of Dr. Bratt and his associates had that novelty which comes from finding trained intelligence where one is unaccustomed to expect it. I had heard "alcohol," "drink," and the "saloon" spoken of as if they were interchangeable terms, and people talk of doing away with the saloon (the Swedes did away with it years ago) as if the only way to do away with it were to do away with alcohol. I was accustomed to more or less vituperative remarks on one side or the other, but not to a calm and, as it were, scientific consideration of the subject, as if it were something quite respectable and worth the careful study of the same sort of citizens as those who plan park systems or build model tenements.

With the Prohibition Amendment we have of course hurdled across any such half-way measures and stoutly chosen the highroad to salvation. Undoubtedly it is better for all of us to get along without alcohol than to swallow schnapps even under the most artistic of tavern signs. The slower Swedish methods are not without interest, however, for, while they are still plodding along on the low road, they have been really thinking about this subject for the past forty years.

This Dr. Bratt is an energetic young man with a keen, intellectual face, curly blond hair, and blue northern eyes. He talks English rapidly and persuasively—very much the type of man you might expect to find at the head of one of our Western universities. As a practicing physician and a member of the Stockholm City Council he studied housing conditions, the care of children, tuberculosis, and similar municipal questions, became specially interested in the relation between them and alcoholism, and finally concentrated on the latter problem.

He soon showed himself a rather unusual combination of the man of science and the man of action, physician and fight-

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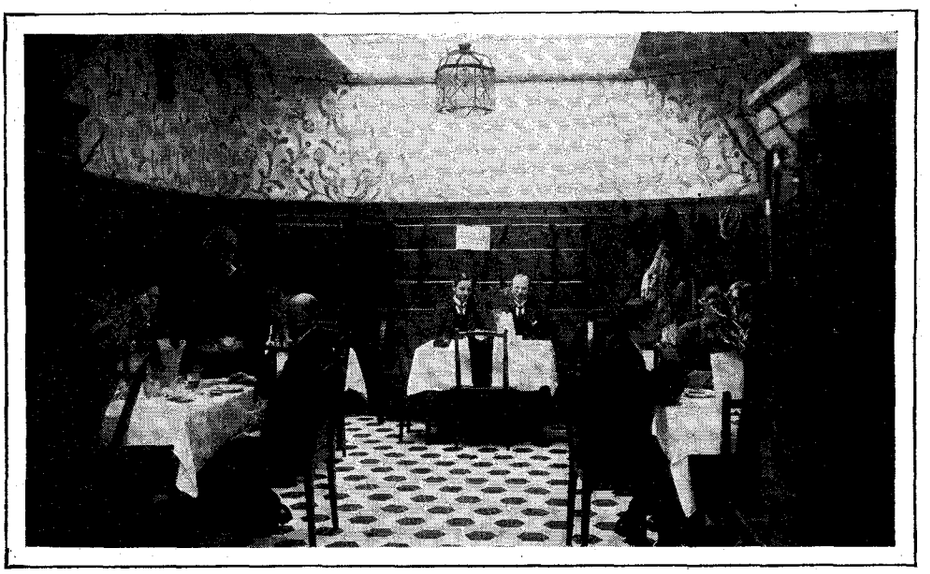
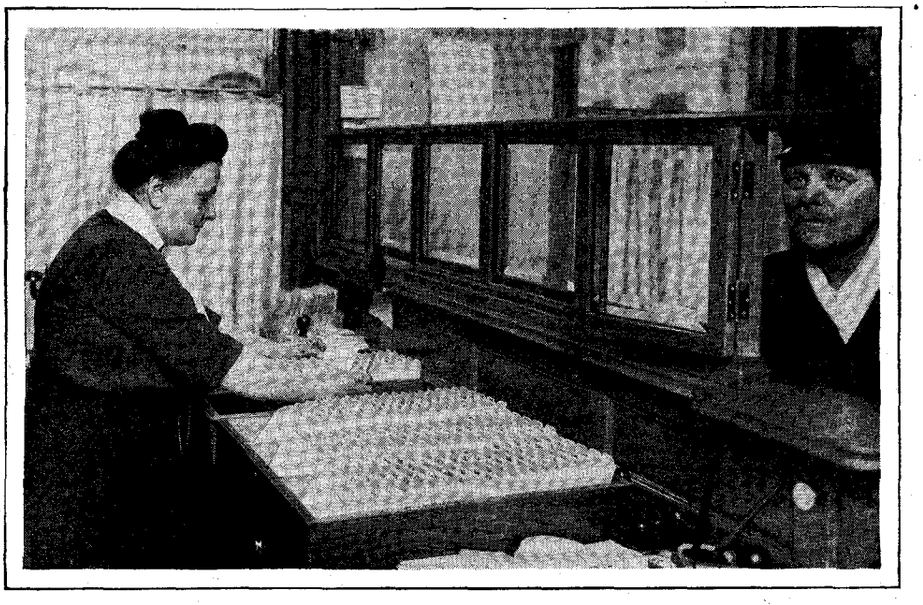
A "THIRD-CLASS" RESTAURANT IN STOCKHOLM IN WHICH DRINKS ARE SOLD WITH FOOD

This is the equivalent of the average American corner saloon of pre-prohibition days. (See picture below)



A "SECOND-CLASS" RESTAURANT IN STOCKHOLM IN WHICH DRINKS ARE SOLD WITH FOOD

In these restaurants prices are a trifle higher and accommodations better than in the "third class" places. (See picture above)



MAKING A PURCHASE OF SPIRITS AT THE "SYSTEM" STORE IN STOCKHOLM

The system includes a card index to check up the customer's previous purchases. It contains his signature, which the clerk is looking up to see that he is not using somebody else's "motbok"

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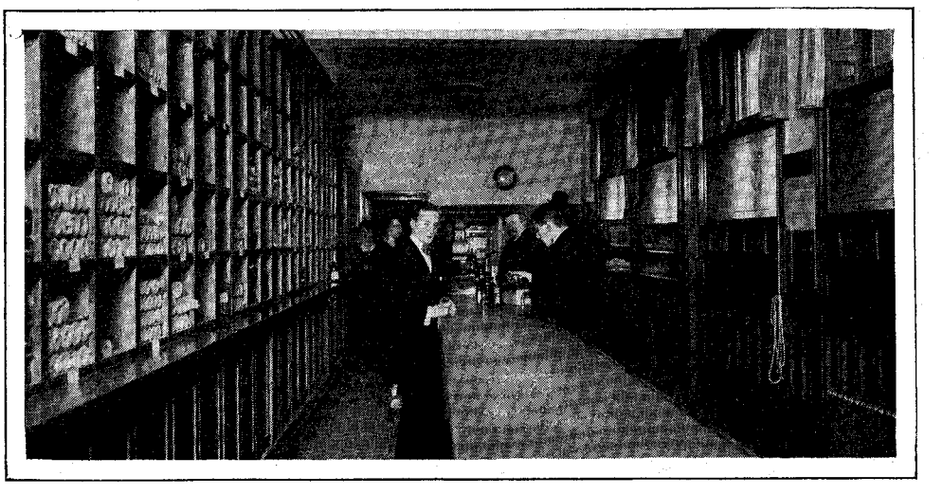
ing politician. Idealistic in his aims, he was quite realistic in his understanding of the weak and contrary human material through which these aims must be realized. He did not believe in prohibition—at any rate, for Sweden. He thought that the legitimate and intelligently restricted sale of alcohol was one of the best weapons with which to fight its illegitimate use, and that the individual's right to buy should be based on the fulfillment of certain elementary duties of good citizenship. The "Stockholm System," which he proceeded to drive into effect, provided for both of these things—for the respectable sale of a certain amount of spirits, and for the careful, indeed quite paternalistic, supervision of those who should buy it. Since he began his campaign a dozen years ago Dr. Bratt has been laughed at in cabarets and comic papers, bitterly attacked by some of the more serious press, and talked about from one end of Sweden to the other. Yet when I met him in Stockholm last autumn he was a good deal more of a dictator in his particular field than Mr. Hoover was in war time here, and his scheme appeared to be regarded by the best public opinion in Sweden as a success.

Dr. Bratt thinks that any decrease in the amount of alcohol sold below what he calls the point of "normal human craving" will be followed by an increase in drunkenness or its equivalent through the use of denatured spirits or other substitutes. This had been proved, he said, so far as the Swedes' own conditions went, during the war, when the scarcity of spirits compelled them for a time to try to enforce prohibition. He showed me a chart on which two lines standing for the sale of alcohol and for drunkenness zigzagged down in a roughly parallel direction until a certain point was reached at which they crossed. The sale line went on down, but the drunkenness line veered sharply upward. Dr. Bratt's rather unexpected remedy for such a condition would be to get the legitimate sale back to normal again.

By normal human craving Dr. Bratt does not mean that everybody needs to drink, for he remarked to me that if he could remove all the alcohol from the world by pressing a button he would be doing wrong not to press it. He means, I presume, that Swedish habits, traditions, etc., being what they are, Swedes are going to have their alcohol, one way or another, and that the problem, therefore, is to reduce the "normal" minimum as low as possible and improve the conditions under which liquor is sold, with the general aim of raising the level of "drinking culture," so to speak, so that as time goes on the minimum will decrease and the conditions under which alcohol is consumed grow better and better.

Such an attitude is doubtless a good deal more inevitable in any old and settled European society than it is in America, where "drinking culture" of any kind is comparatively limited. Most of our drinking used to be done at bars, up to which men crowded in much the fashion of cattle about a trough. On the other hand, there were hundreds of thousands of American families in which alcoholic drinks were scarcely seen from one end of the year to another. Mr. Bryan's predilections for grape juice were no startling eccentricity, whatever foreign diplomats might think; the average housewife of the Middle West, from which Mr. Bryan came, felt quite at ease in planning even a rather formal dinner with nothing to drink but water and tea or coffee.

Under the Göteborg System, Sweden had accomplished a good deal before Dr. Bratt began his work. A group of philanthropic gentlemen got together in the city of Göteborg in 1876 with the idea of doing something to improve conditions by starting a company to sell spirits without profit—except for a small interest return, the rest being turned over to the state—and to make efforts to do away with the worst sort of drinking places and replace them by attractive restaurants in which drinks could be bought only by also buying food.



A STORE IN STOCKHOLM WHERE WINE AND SPIRITS ARE SOLD ON THE "MOTBOKS" SYSTEM

The idea was supported by the Government; and by amending the laws so that companies of this sort should have a monopoly in their neignborhoods the improvement was gradually spread over Sweden. In 2,200 out of the 2,400 municipalities in Sweden there are now no saloons at all. And whereas in 1829 the Swedes consumed 46 liters of spirits annually per person, and in 1877, when the Göteborg system was started, 25 liters, in 1913, in Göteborg itself, this amount had been brought down to 16 liters—about 16 quarts, and scarcely an arid vista from the American point of view.

The Göteborg system practically did away with saloons and the private sale of spirits for profit. The "on" sale, as Dr. Bratt calls it—spirits consumed on the spot—went down to one-tenth of the whole. Nine-tenths was "off" sale—purchased in the System's stores and taken home. The Göteborg System concerned itself only with spirits, but wine and beer were comparatively unimportant in Sweden, anyway; there were no huge brewing interests to fight, and regulation was largely a matter of controlling distilled liquor. The System did much to civilize conditions, but it did not bother with the individual consumer. Any one who had money could buy.

It was here that Dr. Bratt stepped in with his idea of paternal supervision, of making sure that no one should drink up money unless he had first paid his rent, taxes, and in general done his elementary duties as a good citizen. His plan of securing this control was to issue to every purchaser a sort of personal license or rationing card called a *motbok*. To get one of these books one must go to the Stockholm System's central office and fill out a rather elaborate application blank. The applicant tells his age, occupation, income, and amount of taxes; size and makeup of his family, and whether he or any of them has ever been convicted of any crime or has received public charity. The bright young ladies who receive these very personal statistics file them away in card catalogues for future reference. The company then writes to the police in the applicant's district, to the church authorities in his parish (the state Church in Sweden has a rather direct connection with municipal life), and to a sort of Communal Council which looks after taxes and similar matters. These three authorities are asked to check up the applicant's statements, and to say whether they think he ought to have a *motbok* or not. Dr. Bratt and his associates then consider each case separately, and decide whether the application shall be granted, and whether the applicant may have the regular amount—four liters of spirits a month in normal times—or less than this.

Motboks are issued to women and to sons over twenty-five years of age in a family, but in most cases books are not given to both husband and wife. The holder promises not to lend his book to anybody else and not to buy liquor for sale. The book may be taken away at any time at the discretion of the committee if the holder violates his contract, and the amount allowed him can be reduced if his record suggests that he is buying too much.

The scheme is frankly autocratic, and it is quite possible that a majority in the Rikstag different in complexion from that which gave the present company its

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monopoly might take it away. At the same time Dr. Bratt's broad-mindedness and sense of humor make this dictation easier to bear than were the dictator a person of more puritanical temperament. Dr. Bratt could take a *motbok* away from a workman if he thought he was throwing away too much of his wages in drink, and he could close a factory without a word if he found that the law against private distillation was being violated there. Yet he is the sort of person who can say: "The System has always held it wiser to give a little spirits to steady drinkers who have decent homes and sensible wives—say a liter every third or fifth day—rather than to attempt to deprive them of all alcoholic drink in a city full of opportunities of getting it in illegitimate ways and surrounded by temptations of the worst kind."

The *motbok* is filled with detachable coupons which are signed with the owner's name and torn out each time he makes a purchase (he may buy only in the shop in which his signature is kept on file), and these coupons are forwarded to the central office. The books are used only for the "off" sales; "on" sales in restaurants (thirty of Stockholm's restaurants are run by the System itself) are without a book, but here one must buy a certain amount of food. This food is not the property sandwich which used to be served under the Raines Law in New York, but a fairly substantial meal.

In the company's restaurants of the third class, for instance, which attract a public similar to that of the old-fashioned American corner saloon, one must buy a meal costing a kroner and a half (about thirty-five cents). With this one may buy a small bottle of wine or a wineglass and a half of brandy, and the patron may drink all he wants of a very light, practically non-intoxicating beer. There is nothing in the law to prevent a man going from restaurant to restaurant, swallowing only the drinks and leaving the food, but as a matter of fact this is not what happens. There are all sorts of more or less unconscious inhibitions against such behavior, aside from its expense. One is the European habit of lingering and talking over drinks. Almost any European, even the comparatively hard-drinking Scandinavians, can sit quietly gossiping for an hour or so over almost any sort of liquid, even a cup of coffee. Americans seem too restless and impetuous for such tame amusements; possibly we lack the Europeans' "drinking culture." Then these restaurants are real restaurants. The third-class one of which I speak I visited twice, at lunch-time and again in the evening. It was spotlessly clean, like almost everything in Sweden, the food good and reasonably inexpensive, the waitresses neat and obliging. In the evening an orchestra was playing in a little gallery and the tables were full of men and everybody had a glass of something, but there was no drunkenness, noise, or disorder.

A place of this sort pays for itself, and under the limited-profit Stockholm System also turns over something to the state. The original company organized by Dr. Bratt and some of his friends has a capital of only about $100,000, on which a dividend of five per cent is paid, but the annual return which the Stockholm System, together with the "Wine and Spirit" Central which grew out of it, makes to the Government is about $2,250,000. The term "municipally controlled," as applied to these restaurants, is not precisely correct, although that is about what happens in effect. Strictly speaking, the restaurants are controlled by a private company with monopolistic power, which can be conferred on another company by the Government if it is not satisfactorily used. After his company had begun to work Dr. Bratt found that his efforts to control the sale of spirits in the capital were being defeated by the importation of spirits from the country, and he therefore got the Government to pass a law prohibiting the shipping of spirits from one district to another. After buying out some 150 liquor dealers and distillers, he organized the "Wine and Spirit Central," which now manufactures or controls the importation of all the wine and spirits sold in Sweden. This Central, with its headquarters in Stockholm, supplies not only the shops and restaurants of the System itself, but also the 120 similar "systems" in other parts of Sweden.

There are about 400,000 people in Stockholm, and with the suburbs the Stockholm System controls the sale of spirits and wine for about 500,000 persons. For this district there are about 400,000 *motboks*. For all Sweden there are some 800,000 books—that is to say, more than a quarter of the population and more than sixty per cent of the male inhabitants have books.

As soon as the book system was put into effect, in February, 1914, the sale of spirits decreased. In 1913 5,600,000 "off" liters were sold in Stockholm; in 1916—when wine was also put under control—only 3,500,000 liters. The rate per person in the years from 1913 was 15.96, 9.13, 8.86, 8.77, 2.7, and 2.1. The convictions for drunkenness in the years 1913–17 were 17,696, 11,878, 11,323, 8,877, and 3,749. The number of cases for which free medical treatment was given—about 500 annually before the *motboks* went into effect—decreased as follows: 318, 173, 156, 56, 29. Before the books were used about 24 out of every 1,000 cases in the County Hospital were chronic alcoholics; afterward there were only about 1.1 in every 1,000. In 1913 there were 623 cases of delirium tremens; in 1914, 436; in 1915, 200; in 1916, 246; in 1918, 130. But in the last few weeks of 1918 there was a change for the worse, and the cases which the year before had been 6, 5, 5, 5, were now 11, 16, 20, 16.

It was in these days that lack of spirits forced the company's sales below what Dr. Bratt would call a "normal" minimum, and reactions of this sort would be explained by him as examples of what happens in Stockholm when this minimum is passed. The war, with its abnormal scarcity of everything and its wild profiteering, made an unobstructed trial of the System impossible. The price of a liter of spirits ran up to 50, 60, and even 100 kroner, and the temptation to sell what one got on one's *motbok* became so strong that quite nice and otherwise law-abiding ladies thought no more of selling their *motbok* privilege than they sometimes do at home of beating the customs. Private stills, almost forgotten in Sweden since they were prohibited in 1855, began to appear again and were even advertised openly in the papers. Of 130 cases of delirium tremens treated in the County Hospital 112 were due to home-made alcohol or denatured spirits. In the fourth quarter of 1918 there were 1,166 cases of drunkenness due to denatured spirits, as against 36 in the same quarter of 1917.

Paper-making from wood pulp is one of Sweden's principal industries. From one of the by-products motor spirits can be made at a cost considerably less than that at which—at any rate, during the war—gasoline could be imported. Yet the Government had to lose this cheaper fuel and forbid its use because the chauffeurs refined their motor spirit and drank it instead of using it in their automobiles. This restriction is less felt now that gasoline is cheaper, but for a time it was one of the causes of complaint against the system and Dr. Bratt.

In short, the making of alcohol at home and violations of the law of all sorts became a sort of epidemic. Those who opposed the System on the ground of its excessive liberality were now able to join with those who complained that it interfered with personal liberty. Dr. Bratt was pounded from both sides, but he maintains that the demoralization brought on by the war will gradually disappear when enough alcohol is sold in the company's stores so that the *motbok* will lose its commercial value and private distillation no longer have the allurement of a safe and easy way of counterfeiting money.

Dr. Bratt, it will be observed, sticks to his realistic point of view that alcohol exists, and that the best weapon against its reckless use is a legitimate sale, intelligently controlled. He belongs with those who would cure, as it were, by medicine and care rather than by faith. Our American theory at present, on the other hand, is the idealistic one that faith in the superiority of a life without alcohol can be made strong enough to withstand materialistic temptation. Undoubtedly this is the side of the angels, and preferable, as Dr. Bratt himself is doubtless enough of a pragmatist to admit, whenever it will work.

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INTERALLIED FIDDLESTICKS

BY ROBERT HAVEN SCHAUFFLER

"WHERE is the best 'cello in town?"

It was the old question that had so often netted me rich returns in the way of musical adventure. I was asking it on my first morning of convalescent leave in Nice.

The leading music dealer scratched his head for a space of time. Then he furnished me with the name and address of the leading 'cellist. And in response to further queries he assured me that he would keep on the alert for talented amateur fiddlers who had a passion for string quartettes.

I climbed to the apartment of the leading 'cellist, and found him a most agreeable gentleman. After we had conferred for an hour on the subtleties of our craft and driven home our points by suddenly snatching 'cellos out of corners and fiddling in an illustrative manner, and had exchanged the names of the best 'cello pieces which one of us knew and the other didn't, and had settled with finality all the vastest musical problems of the age to our mutual satisfaction, and I had offered to pay him rent for an instrument up to the wealth limit of a first lieutenant, and he had passionately repudiated all suggestions of filthy lucre insinuating itself between kindred and interallied spirits, and had unreservedly placed his bow, his mute, his library, and any 'cello within his gates at my disposal at any hour of the day or night, we decided that sometimes things turn out for the best in the best of possible worlds, and adjourned to quaff vermouth-seltz to the interallied musical cause at the café around the corner.

The next morning I received two notes from total strangers. Both had heard of me from the music dealer, and both were keen for fiddling orgies. One note was from an Italian army captain on leave. He had once played the viola. Now that the Germans had signed he would like to celebrate by playing it again, for he alleged that he knew no more satisfactory method of expressing one's inmost feelings of jubilation than to sit in at a congenial string quartette party.

The other note was from a gentleman who expressed himself with such infectious enthusiasm at the idea of a vagrant doughboy 'cellist dropping into Nice that I clapped on my cap and started forthwith to hunt him up.

He proved to be a Polish painter and architect who had served in the French army, been wounded, disabled, and discharged. Luckily, his arms and hands were still in fiddling trim. He possessed a good violin, considerable technique, and a music-room innocent of those rugs and hangings abhorred by all true fiddlers, which drink the heart out of music as a sponge drinks water or an infantryman *vin rouge*.

He cherished for the recreation of amateur fiddling an enthusiasm so titanic that if translated into kilowatts (or whatever it is that the electric light corporation overcharges you for on the first of the month) it could quite easily have run all the public utilities of Nice, Monaco, and Monte Carlo.

He hailed with explosive rapture the idea of forming a string quartette. He knew and vouched for the Italian captain's fiddling powers. All we now needed was another violinist. He told me that since his recent arrival he had already had a little sport playing trios.

He had found a pianist with nimble fingers, above the volume of whose playing a rugged fiddler might make himself heard. Also a 'cellist who possessed an incomparable Stradivarius instrument which he called Josephine and loved more than life itself. This gentleman, however, was not now as youthful as he once had been, and his somewhat delicate health did not permit him to indulge in those unbridled fiddling orgies, with the sky the limit, which were so dear to his own fiery Polish soul.

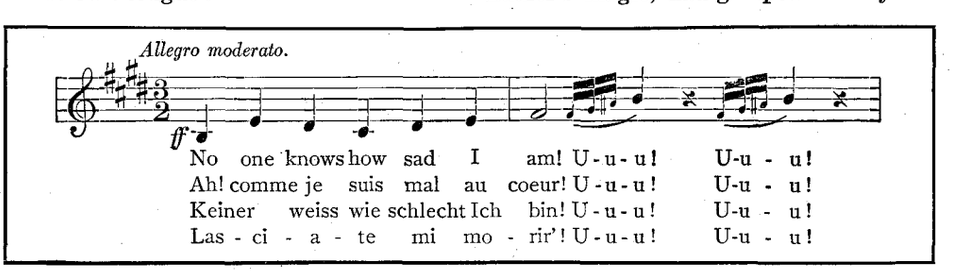
One trio afternoon a week satisfied all the aspirations of the owner of Josephine. This was the afternoon. Would I not attend?

Would I *not!*

That afternoon I found my Pole a very satisfactory amateur with a self-restraint in the softest passages that must have done violence to his impetuous and inflammable nature. He justified his boast, however, of making himself heard above the piano at all times.

Josephine was a perfectly magnificent little Strad. As I listened to her owner, methodically educing from her balmy bosom one note after another of the Tschaikowsky Trio, I tried hard to be a good sportsman and stop longing to caress her satiny neck and lissom strings myself.

I fear her master must have felt my ill-concealed yearning, however, for he suddenly laid down his bow when it came to that one of the variations which ought to be entitled "The Channel Crossing," because it sounds like a small steamer in a very choppy sea, with the passengers all lined up at the rail and singing, each in his own tongue:


Allegro moderato.
ff
No one knows how sad I am! U-u-u! U-u - u!
Ah! comme je suis mal au coeur! U-u-u! U-u - u!
Keiner weiss wie schlecht Ich bin! U-u-u! U-u - u!
Las - ci - a - te mi mo - rir'! U-u-u! U-u - u!

"Monsieur," said the old gentleman to me, with a courtly bow, "this music is very strenuous. It has slightly fatigued me. Would you mind to do the kindness of finishing these variations in my stead?"

"What, monsieur—not on Josephine?"

"Most certainly, monsieur. I charm myself to intrust her to your hands."

Josephine was marvelous. She sang like one of the larger but more feminine morning stars. She ministered tenderly to the melancholy passengers, footed it featly on dainty silken pumps through the mazurka, and lumbered with elegance down the length of the portentous fugue. Right gallantly did she bear herself all through the brilliant charge of the heavy brigade which culminates in the victory of the interallies, and she participated in the ultimate funeral procession with becoming decorum—with even, in places, a thrilling solemnity, for all she was feeling her oats so much that day. This solemnity I afterwards imagined to contain a touch of prophetic prevision of her own shocking doom.

When at length our pianist had stifled the last muffled drum, I knew that I had scarcely ever in my life played a better fiddle than little Josephine.

I told her owner so.

"Monsieur," said he, solemnly, "consider her as your own whenever you wish to make music while sojourning in Nice. As for me, I utilize her very little. She lies at your disposition." I could see that this charming gentleman had been all broken up by the emotions of the music, for his kind hand shook as it held mine.

I thanked him right heartily and went into the hall to take leave of my hostess, while he put Josephine into her chemise.

Crash!

A sickening report came from the room I had just quitted. It was the same fearful, nerve-shattering sound that I had already heard with dismay and heart-sickness three times before in my life and could never forget. That sound was more dismaying to me than the whizz-bang of the mine or the dull crack of the gas shell.

With grievous forebodings, I rushed back to the music-room. My worst apprehensions were realized. There lay Josephine, the noblest Cremonan of them all, shivered to fragments on the rugless floor. Thus cracked a noble heart. Her master, having been rendered absent-minded by fiddler's magic, had grasped her by her slender tail-piece as a preliminary of her toilet. The ancient double-bass gut that secured the strings had pulled out—and now the world lay in ruins about him. Down the pallid cheeks of the poor gentleman gushed tears of anguish and de-

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spair and plentifully bedewed the mortal remains of Josephine.

I had some ado to keep from joining him in this last sad rite, for all true fiddlers cherish sentiments of almost human admiration and affection for a great fiddle. And after a fiddler has once played on it and felt it sing and laugh and turn wistful and tender and arch, and thrill with joy or passion or triumph even once under his fingers, these sentiments crystallize into something rather akin to the feeling of a man for a beautiful woman to whom he has made love and who has responded in kind. Of course the whole thing becomes more intensified if you have not only made love to a fiddle, but taken it to your bosom to have and to hold till death do you part.

As for my own 'cello, it is so much a portion of myself that if any passer-by happens to lurch against it I feel an actual pang of physical pain, and my fingers involuntarily ball themselves into a fist, and the fist automatically shoots forth in the direction of the assailant before my conscious will has time to pull itself together and limber itself up and take any measures whatever on its own account.

Alas, poor Josephine! I felt as a man in the midst of a gloriously absorbing flirtation would feel if a taxicab, like the one in "Declassée," suddenly ran over the lady. But I was recalled from the contemplation of my own distress by the parting words of Josephine's owner:

"*C'est fini!* From this hour I shall never again set bow to 'cello!"

Affected as I was, however, I was not Josephine's husband. So I personally could not feel anything like this degree of renunciation. Having such a fragrant cup dashed from my lips only made me all the thirstier for a satisfying draught of fiddler's magic. I withdrew quietly from the house of mourning, after agreeing with my Polish host that the first fellow who struck the trail of the fourth fiddler necessary to complete our proposed quartette should notify the other "toot sweet."

Almost at once I found what looked as though it might indicate a trail of this kind. It was a street on the way back to the hotel, named the Rue Verdi. This debouched into the Rue Rossini.

"If anywhere," thought I, "one might find a fiddler in such a musical neighborhood as this."

And when the Rue Rossini led, in turn, to the Place Mozart, and I saw that the Place Mozart was wholly given over to my second favorite sport, lawn tennis, a pastime which I have always found to be the ideal complement to my first favorite sport, fiddling, I was sure of being on the right track. The omens were set fair, and I, being a creature of "hunches," decided to ask every one who crossed my path if he knew any fiddler.

Entering instantly, I joined the club, rented a racket, sneakers, and flannels, and, for the first time in what seemed a geologic period, knew the comfort of disporting myself in something else than puttees, tight breeches, and a high stiff collar.

In the locker-room I met a number of French, English, and American officers, and asked them my foreordained question. But they all knew nothing about the musical side of Nice, and cared less. So I got into an interallied tennis quartette, and soon became so engrossed in the discovery that it doesn't always affect your tennis technique very seriously to get shot that I forgot about my quest until a tall American came up and introduced himself after the third set.

"Won't you," he asked, "play doubles with me in the tournament next week?"

I had noticed him on the adjoining court, and had admired his long, accurate ground-strokes and the impregnable, "They shall not pass!" kind of barrier his height and his deft wrist presented at the net. But I suddenly recalled my quest.

"Charmed," I said, "if you will tell me where to find a good fiddler."

The answer came prompt as a ball from his racket.

"Nothing easier; that is to say, if you don't mind a girl."

I did, rather. I had found by long experience that if you include a girl in the fiddling fraternity she generally gets exhausted about a quartet and a half before the rest are ready to stop. And you have to be more formal than is quite comfortable in the realms of fiddler's luck. And she has more moods and tenses than the rest, and usually harbors a prejudice against such real man's music as the quartettes of d'Indy and the last Beethovens and the Brahms sextettes.

Moreover, one or two of the three men usually sidetrack the main issue—which is quartette playing—by falling in love with that miserable girl. Thereupon she grows absent-minded and makes a wrong entry in the fugue and puts her fiddle petulantly on the table and bursts into a flood of tears, which she afterwards attributes to nervous fatigue induced by playing too long and by the severity of the first violinist, when she is really blubbering because the first violinist has kept his head and refused to succumb to her charms along with the viola and the 'cello. Oh, no; quartettes are much more fun if you can only keep them clear of petticoats.

I looked unenthusiastic and told my future tennis partner my philosophy of sex and fiddlesticks.

"But she's really great," he said. "There's no nonsense about her, and she's strong as a horse. She's a genuine pupil of Joachim, and has a wonderful Guarnerius violin and reads music at sight the way a broker reads the list of outside securities, or a young author reads his first letter of acceptance from a magazine."

"Sounds promising," I admitted. "Lead me to her."

"I haven't time to-day," he answered, "but I'll scribble you a card."

I took it and hastened to a lofty studio on the other side of town. The tennis player had spoken the truth. The fiddler was a pupil of Joachim and possessed a real Guarnerius fiddle. There was no nonsense about her, and she read music the way a Rolls-Royce runs down hill.

She was the most international fiddler I had ever met, being partly French, partly English, and partly Spanish, with that slight dash of the Hebraic which Du Maurier recommended in "Trilby" as a desirable ingredient of genius, and a larger dash of Danish, and an Italian name. She seemed to talk every language under the heavens, including the quaintest of English. Shoulder-blades she would call "blade-bones;" homesickness she referred to as "country-ache;" and she concluded a eulogy on the importance of her own sex with a triumphant reference to "the hand that wags the cradle."

As soon as she tucked her fiddle under her chin I knew that I had found an ideal first violinist, and at once I mentally degraded my nice Pole to the position of second fiddle. He wouldn't mind, once he heard her go it. When I unfolded the plan for orgies of chamber music, she welcomed it with rapture, and promised to be on hand the following evening.

That congress of interallied fiddlesticks worked as smoothly as the military forces of France, Great Britain, America, Portugal, and Italy had co-operated on the western front during the Meuse-Argonne offensive. The four fiddlesticks scraped together almost perfectly. The amalgamation of western Europe represented by the first violin was balanced by the impetuosity and brilliance of our second-fiddling Pole from the East and mellowed by the sensuous southern warmth of Italy as radiated by the genial viola. And the whole outfit was secured to earth by brass tacks through the efficiency-managing efforts of the Yankee bull-fiddler.

Before the first piece was over we were fused to the point where we recognized that there is neither East nor West, border nor breed nor birth, when four strong fiddlers sit face to face, though they come from the ends of the earth.

I had found some friends among the highly select nobility of Nice, however, who were not quite as firmly convinced as I was about the above proposition concerning "breed" and "birth." They felt strongly that they did not quite approve of a friend of theirs fiddling indiscriminately with so many miscellaneous nations, when they could provide me with musical companions whose ancient lineage and commanding position in society and historic musical affiliations rendered them far more desirable for me to consort with than people who had recently dropped in from the ends of the earth and could merely fiddle well.

Though they had not yet heard them, they were not so sure about my interallies even fiddling well. They felt that, as my new friends did not, like themselves, live and move and have their being exclusively among the nobility, their playing could not be quite up to the mark.

So they put down their highly arched feet and decreed that I was to play trios

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A FAMOUS MADONNA AND ITS HISTORY

HAS RUSSIAN BOLSHEVISM SACRIFICED IT OR LEFT IT UNSPOILED?

BY FRANCES GWEN FORD

IT would be a great comfort to lovers of beautiful paintings to learn that the superb Hermitage collection of Petrograd, that "Louvre of the North," has been kept safely "somewhere" during these calamitous days in Russia. People had begun to know more of it the last quarter of a century, and to study its interesting growth from the days of the Empress Catherine, who got together its fine nucleus in her "winter palace," l'Hermitage, on through the splendid additions made by Emperors Alexander I, Nicholas I, and Alexander II.

No gallery contained so many of the chief works of some of the greatest painters of the world, and among the wonderful paintings of Raphael's to be seen there was the unique "Casa Alba Madonna." This picture is circular in form, about three feet in diameter, and was painted on wood and later transferred to canvas for preservation. It belongs to Raphael's marvelous group of the so-called "pastoral Madonnas," those paintings of beautiful mothers and their lovely children, with a background of a charming landscape. Among these, it may be remembered, is "La Belle Jardinière" (beautiful gardener), of the Louvre; "Madonna in Grünen" (Madonna in the Meadows), of the Belvedere, Vienna; and the "Madonna del Cardellino" (Madonna of the Goldfinch), of the Uffizi, Florence. These three were painted during Raphael's Florentine period, but this Madonna of the house of Alba was the work of later days in Rome, and instead of the simple, gentle, lovely mothers of his earlier paintings the "Alba Madonna" is of a more regal type but with the same "smiling landscape" and appealing children.

This painting has a strange bit of history attached to it in connection with the Alba family, into whose possession it came in 1793. It was painted in the years between 1508 and 1510 and for some time decorated the high altar of one of the Italian churches. However, in 1686 it was bought by the Viceroy of Naples for about one thousand dollars, and some hundred years later became the property of the Duke of Alba at Madrid, who gave it to his wife. The Duchess of Alba, on recovering from an acute and dangerous illness, filled with intense gratitude to her physician, to whose wonderful skill she considered she owed her life, gave him not only the original painting, but also a fine copy. Yet later, when the Duchess died suddenly under very suspicious circumstances, this much-lauded physician in those days of intrigue and murder was suspected of killing her, and his life was spared only through the intercession of the Prince de la Paix. The doctor's gratitude took the same form of expression as did that of the Duchess, though his was not as intense, so he gave the Prince only the *copy* of the painting and sold the original to Count Edmund Burke, then the Danish Ambassador. The latter in his turn sold it in London to Count Coesvelt for an amount bordering on $120,000. So it was that when the fine Coesvelt collection came into the possession of the Russian Emperor the beautiful "Madonna della Casa d'Alba" found a home in the Imperial gallery, the Hermitage, at Petrograd. It is to be devoutly hoped that when peace and safety come again to unhappy Russia this beautiful work of the great Raphael will be found unhurt, and its loveliness a possession of a free people.

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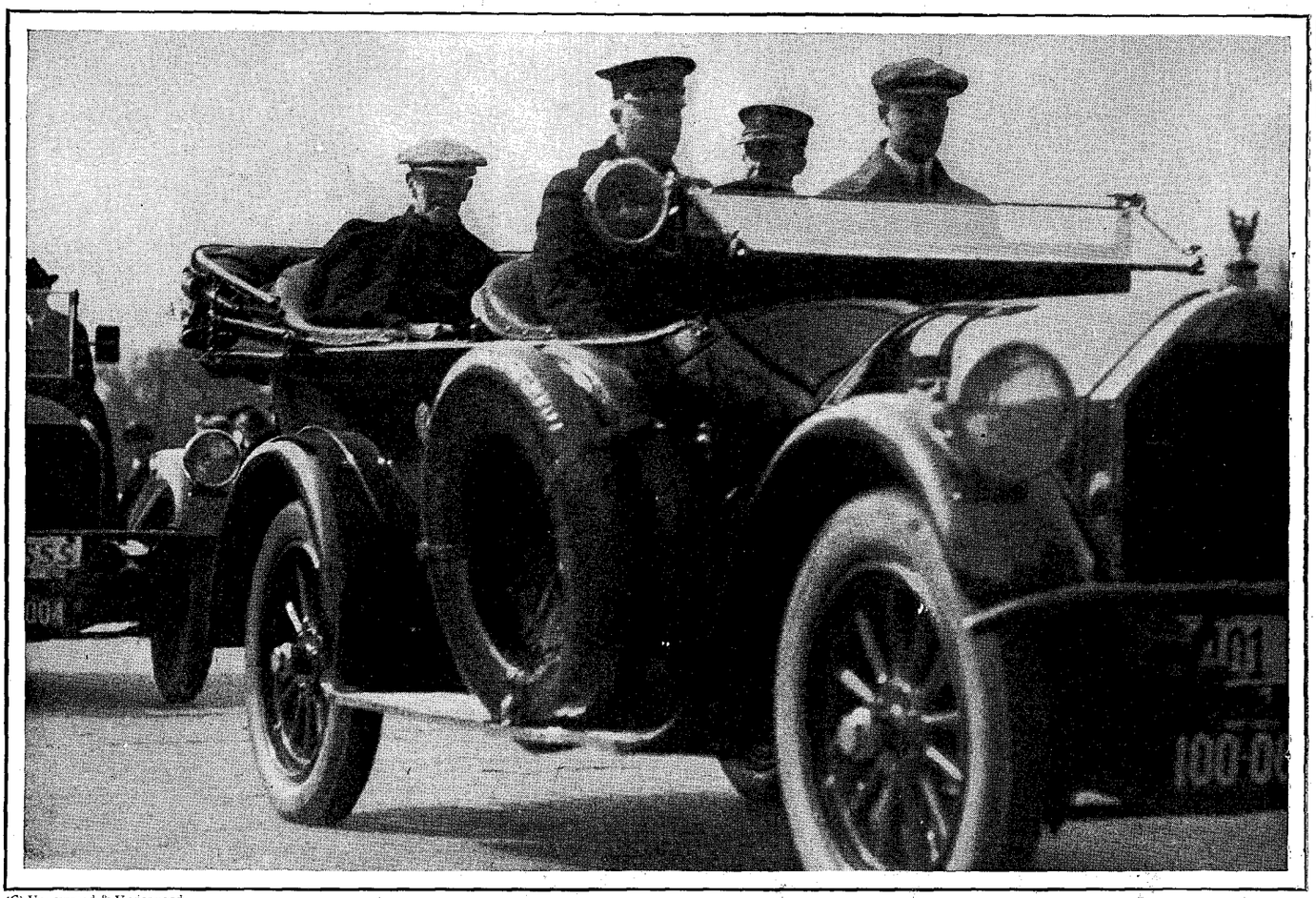

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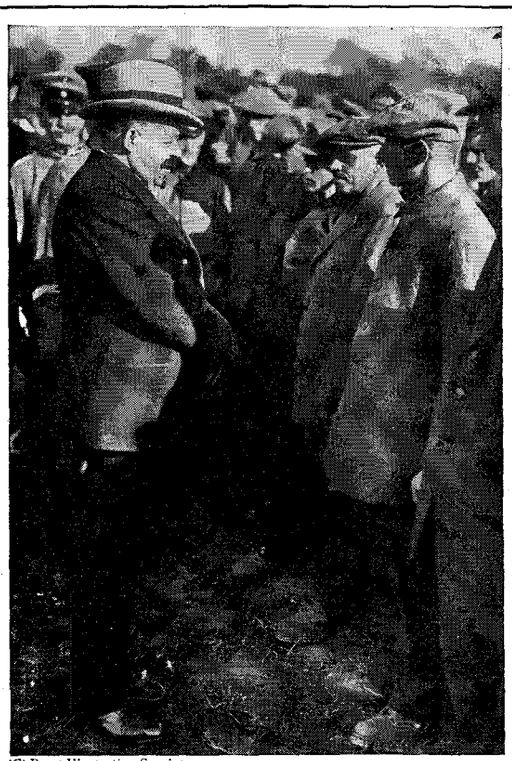
FIRST PHOTOGRAPH OF PRESIDENT WILSON SINCE HIS ILLNESS BEGAN

On March 17 the photographers and movie men were permitted to take pictures of President Wilson as he drove out from the White House in an automobile accompanied by Mrs. Wilson and Admiral Grayson. Though the photograph shows a great physical change in the President since his illness, he seemed in good spirits and laughed heartily at the efforts of the camera men to get good "shots" at him as the car moved slowly along



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PRESIDENT EBERT

The head of the German Republic. He at first fled to Dresden, but later returned to Berlin

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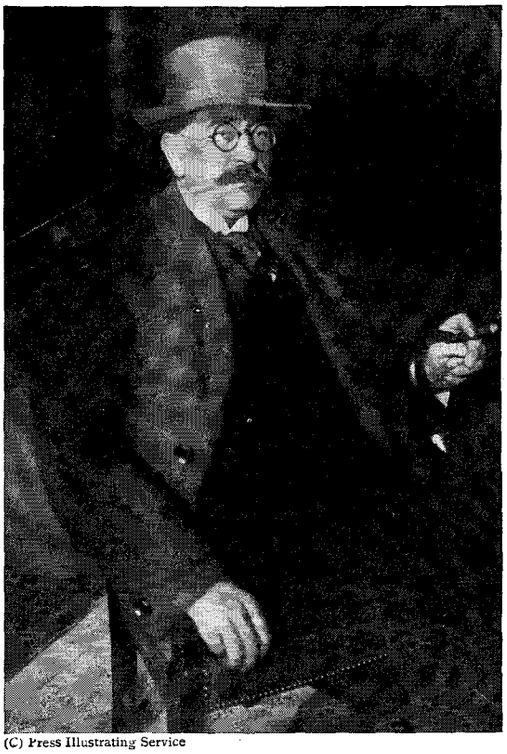
GENERAL VON LUETTWITZ

Commander of the forces that temporarily upset the Republic



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GUSTAVE NOSKE

The Minister of Defense, regarded as the "strong man" of the Republic's Government, has resigned his portfolio

PROMINENT FIGURES IN THE GERMAN "COUNTER-REVOLUTION"

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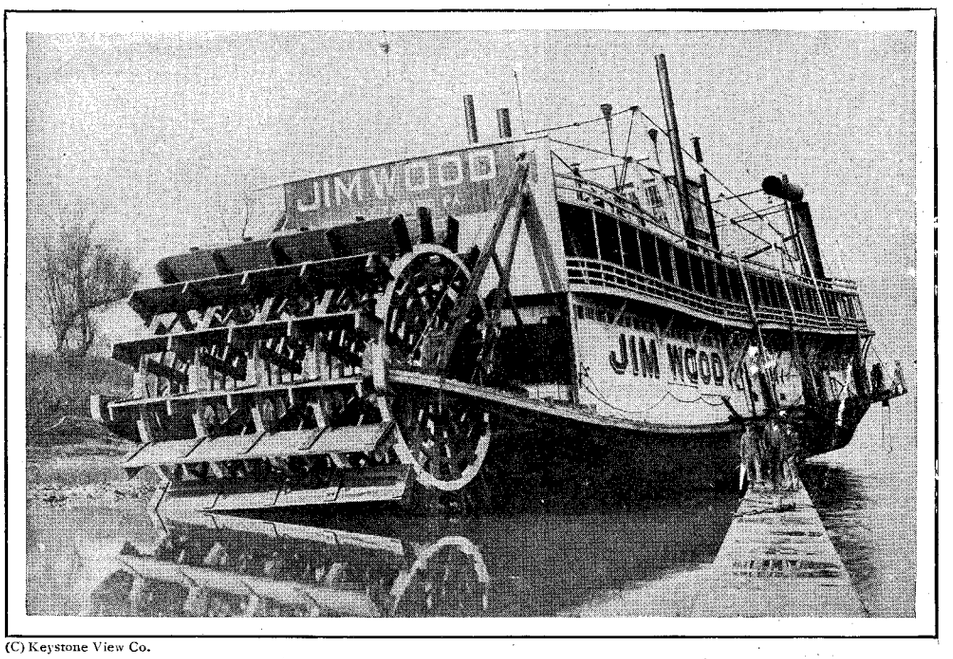
FLOODS IN THE EAST—A STREET SCENE IN PATERSON, NEW JERSEY



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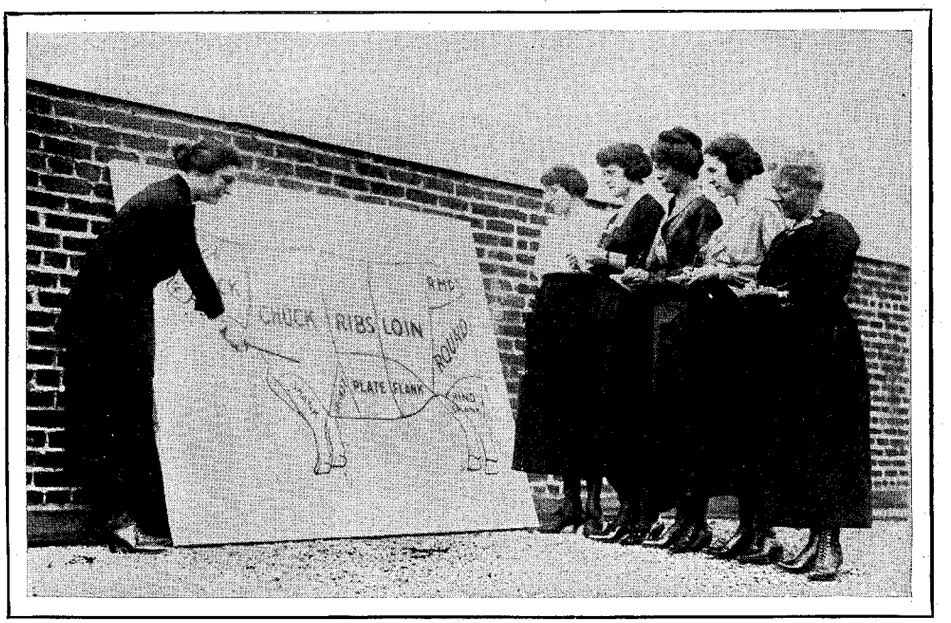
FLOODS IN THE MIDDLE WEST—AN OHIO RIVER STEAMBOAT LEFT HIGH AND DRY ON THE WRONG SIDE OF THE LEVEE



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FIGHTING THE HIGH COST OF LIVING BY USING THE CHEAPER CUTS OF MEAT

A Government employee is shown in the picture engaged in demonstrating to a group of women how the cheaper parts of beef can be used effectively in lessening ordinary household expenses

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with a young marquis who condescended to toy with the fiddle, and an extremely aristocratic vicomtesse who had once been a pupil of César Franck. This fact alone, they plainly felt, would prove clearly that she was musically far superior to the despised interallies.

I inquired whether this lady possessed the rare art of playing *piano* on the piano.

"Certainly! She is a pupil of César Franck!"

"Because," I warned them, "I am afflicted with a besetting sin. When a pianist becomes too muscular and persists in pounding, I am all too apt to address her in firm and uncompromising language. I fear that I have a slight neurosis in connection with noisy pianists, because I have suffered such things at their hands."

"Have no misgivings," they responded. "Is she not a pupil . . ."

Constrained by the obligations of guestpitality, I went, as in duty bound, but with an eagerness made dubious by long experience. The Marquis was an adequate fiddler enough, who played out of tune only during the more difficult passages. The Vicomtesse was gracious and could not have been more aristocratic without serious consequences to her vertebræ.

She told authentic reminiscences of Franck and showed how her old master used to come in out of the streets of Paris to give her a lesson, and would always hold out both his hands to be massaged by her into warmth and suppleness before sitting down to the piano.

I felt that the adventure looked promising. The lady really had studied with that great master. She must be A1.

Then she sat down at the piano and we began the soft opening of the first Mendelssohn trio.

Ye gods! What were those loud, strident sounds? I started painfully and glanced around at the Vicomtesse. The veins in her neck and muscular arms were standing out with exertion. She was putting her back into the *pianissimo* music. Halfway measures evidently did not appeal to this pupil of Franck. Worst of all, her right foot was planted solidly, as if for all time, on the sustaining pedal, so that the different chords "ran" like the hues of guaranteed fast-color pajamas when they first enter the wash-tub.

"*Piano*, if you please," I suggested, in the well-bred voice current in aristocratic circles.

The Vicomtesse caught my eye, nodded and smiled brightly, and kept on putting her back—and her foot—into it.

I began to lose control. Devastating memories of the many things I had suffered from many pianists swept over me, and of my countless vows of 'Never again!' The rear wheels of my temper began to skid. The Vicomtesse's playing possessed no pleasing qualities that could help atone for the horrors of its blurry volume. Her performance was stiff as a poker, yet with none of a poker's occasional warmth.

"*Piano*, I beg of you!" My intonation was now that of the *bourgeoisie*. The lady nodded, took a firmer grip than ever with her foot, and held on with determination. She sounded less like Mendelssohn than the Homestead rolling-mills.

"*Shsssssssss! Pianissimo!*" I roared in the coarse accents of the proletariat, though scarcely making myself heard above the tumult.

"Certainly, monsieur," screamed the female Samson, exerting her last ounce of strength on the keys and treading so heavily on that excrescence which I know it is vulgar to call the loud pedal, but which I really must be pardoned for so calling this once—treading on it, I say, with such an elephantine finality that I began to entertain hopes of her putting it out of commission.

At last I understood why poor, dear old Papa Franck was represented by his biographers as having so much hardship to bear—as so awfully harassed and tired out and generally pulled down by all the miscellaneous piano lessons he had to rush about Paris giving. I shuddered to imagine the kindly old master's struggles against the self-satisfaction of the Vicomtesse, which in its boundless sublimity reminded me of George Sylvester Viereck, the poet who is said to regard Shakespeare as a premature Viereck.

The Vicomtesse had evidently taken as her dynamic motto the hero's watchword in Ibsen's "Brand," "Everything or nothing!" That entire afternoon everything was *fortissimo* that came to her mill. Her foot, planted firmly as the left fore hoof of General Sherman's bronze horse in the Plaza, New York City, never once quitted the loud pedal.

With huge relief I returned to my orgies with the wielders of the interallied fiddlesticks, who, though not so far-famed among the nobility, still possessed a private key to music's holiest of holies, and introduced me into that magic shrine every day until I returned to the hospital.

But for long afterwards, in those recurrent nightmares which are the heritage of so many members of the A. E. F., I saw the Vicomtesse with her aristocratic hoof planted for all time on the burning pedal whence all but she had fled.

A FEW WORDS ABOUT RUSSIA

BY PRINCESS CATHERINE RADZIWILL

RUSSIA just now occupies again the attention of the world owing to the question of a possible peace between the Allies and the Soviet Government being once more brought before public opinion. Is such a peace possible, what would be its consequences, and what are Russia's prospects for the future? These are but a few out of the many questions addressed to me every day by friends or enemies, sympathizers or adversaries, of the unfortunate country which, in spite of its misfortunes, I am proud to call my own.

The biggest mistake made by those who at the present moment pass judgment upon what goes on in Russia consists in the fact that very likely, thanks to the war, which has obliterated the sense of proportion in most people by crowding into the space of five short years events it will take the world centuries to digest properly, people expected that Russia would settle down to a normal existence immediately after the first Revolution, which drove Nicholas II from his throne. The public, the press, politicians as well as diplomats, forgot that convulsions of the extent and magnitude of those that brought about the fall of the Romanoff dynasty cannot be subdued immediately after they have taken place. History always repeats itself, and what we are witnessing nowadays in Russia is but the repetition, upon a different scale and in a different country, of what took place in France after the great Revolution. There also the country had to undergo a period of terror, and it took her years to get rid of the men who had dishonored her aspirations for freedom. Between the day of the deposition of Louis XVI and that of the appointment of Napoleon as First Consul for life in 1802 there was a period of ten long years during which France was ruled by ruffians who did not differ very much in their conduct and actions from Lenine, Trotsky, and their followers; ten years during which Europe looked askance upon France, just as it looks askance upon Russia to-day.

And yet, in spite of this ostracism in which she was held, France finally redeemed her errors and became the greatest Power in Europe. One may reply to this argument that what saved France was the genius of Napoleon; but how are we to know that there does not exist somewhere in the depths of a Russian village or among the officers of a Russian regiment a man who, when the time will be ripe for his appearance, will arise and lead Russia back to her proper place in European civilization? The world appears to be unwilling to give Russia the one credit which she craves, and which all Russian patriots crave for her, the credit of a little time to set her house in order and to heal the many wounds which she has received during the last six years. A cataclysm of the importance of the one that has overtaken her requires time to breathe after it has occurred, after its winds have swept away the dust

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of centuries. But that this dust will be swept away I do not personally doubt for one single moment. Bolshevism, abject as it is, is but an incident in an immense world-wide movement, and I firmly believe that we shall yet see its idealistic side come forward, while its crimes will meet with the punishment which they deserve. Bolshevism answers in a certain sense to some of the requirements of the soul of the Russian masses. Those who profess its theories are odious, but the thing itself is not so abominable as it is painted to us, and it is but a natural consequence of the long years of thraldom which the Russian nation had to undergo, those weary years during which a handful of brave people fought silently for the freedom of their country, and died in order to save it from the tyranny of the Czars, just as Dmitry Bonskoy and his army fought to deliver it from the Tartar yoke. Russians must not be judged by the standard one applies to other civilized nations. When the war broke out, the Russian people consisted of absolutely ignorant masses and of a small minority of ultra-civilized and ultra-refined persons who, while they had studied all the different problems of the self-government of a nation, lacked the spirit of initiative to tackle them and the strength of character to carry them through. They were too refined to kill anybody, even the enemies of their country, and, paradoxical though this may sound, one of the principal causes of the collapse of the first Cabinet that took the supreme power in its hands after the abdication of the Czar was the fact that it was composed of men too conscientious and not courageous enough to slay those who conspired against it and against the welfare of Russia. Trotsky and Lenine were in a certain sense the men of the people; they understood the Russian temperament such as it revealed itself at this particular time, and they knew that it could be impressed only by the fear of complete annihilation, which it dreaded the more because for the last three years it had constantly found itself confronted with its dangers, until its overwrought nerves could not endure the torture any longer. It was the general weariness of the whole nation which more than any other thing helped Bolshevism in its success. Russia was tired; Russia was beginning to realize that she had been the great martyr of the war, and the instinct of self-preservation arose against the suffering to which she was being told the enemies of Bolshevism had condemned her.

One must not think, however, that this feeling of weariness will last any length of time. Russia is bound to awake out of her present state of lethargy very soon—sooner than one thinks, perhaps. The Russian *muzhik*, or peasant, has an immense amount of common sense at his disposal, and, strange though this may sound to American readers, the Russian *muzhik* is essentially conservative in his opinions. He will never give up his right to own property, and he will be the first one later on to resist the communism which the Bolsheviki wish to establish. What the Russian *muzhik* wants to-day is to be left alone, and to be allowed to buy all those necessaries of life which he lacks and which he cannot do without, and he will support momentarily all those whom he hopes can procure them for him. But he is absolutely indifferent to the Bolsheviki as well as to all the other political parties in the country who quarrel among themselves over his head. What he requires is to be left outside of these strifes, for a while at least. Afterwards he will see what he has to do, and it is to this afterwards that we must look forward; it is this afterwards which will decide the fate of Russia.

For the present, as far as I can see, Russia's greatest enemies are its former upper classes, who have shown the most lamentable want of understanding of the real needs and necessities of the situation. They are mostly living abroad, spending the remains of their fortunes of former days in trying to keep up appearances, and they are lamenting more over their own fate than over that of their country. They seem to have forgotten Russia entirely, remembering only all that has befallen them personally. It is sufficient to read some of the books and magazine articles published by Russian refugees to become convinced of this sad fact. They are all of them, or mostly all, the story of their own experiences and woes. The personal pronoun is their leading note, and the words fatherland and Russia are conspicuously absent from these records of Bolshevist atrocities. Why, oh, why, will the Russian upper classes not remember that in convulsions such as those which are shaking our unfortunate country personal and private losses do not count? The great figure of one's native land and a constant thought of its danger ought to dominate everything else. What is past and gone *is* past and gone, and the errors of yesterday can never be wiped out, though they may be redeemed. Why not clean the slate voluntarily? Why not try and work for one common aim, that of the regeneration of the country itself? Why not try at least to remember that, as my old master Renan put it so eloquently, "there were millions of *fellahs* who worked at the construction of the Egyptian Pyramids; their names are now forgotten, but the Pyramids are still there." If those Russians I speak of were really sincere patriots, they would consider it an honor to be one of these nameless, modest, meek workmen who brought patiently one stone after the other to build the monuments which resist the destruction of time and the length of centuries.

Russia is also in a certain sense a great Pyramid, because her natural resources are so gigantic and colossal that she can be compared to these old landmarks of the world. And just now Russia is going through a period of reconstruction of the past which ought not to be interfered with. The sound common sense of its people will sooner or later do away with the exaggerations of Bolshevism and make them recoil with horror from the cruelties by which it has established its rule. On the other hand, the Soviet Government by its ruthless tyranny will in the long run awake among the Russian nation that sense of proportion which it seems to have lost at present, and will inspire it with the desire and determination to rid itself in some way or other of the hideous cancer gnawing at its breast. Unfortunately, so far neither the Allies nor the Russians themselves have been clever enough to give to the Soviet Government sufficient rope to hang itself. Indeed, they have not even understood the necessity of giving it a rope in general. France was wiser when for a time she bowed her head before the knife of Danton and of Marat, and France is to-day one of the greatest nations in the world. Who knows and who can tell what Russia will be in one hundred years from to-day? Who can guess or venture to prophesy the place which she will hold and occupy among nations later on? It must not be lost sight of that there are some men left in Russia, whose names may yet be unknown, but who in the silence and solitude of their homes are probably preparing themselves for the great work which awaits all Russians to-morrow, and which, thanks to the trials that they have undergone and the experience that they have acquired, they will be able to undertake from the practical, not the purely idealistic, point of view. The old régime is gone, never to return. The reign of the Bolsheviki is but a passing madness, and the future belongs to those who will sacrifice their personal prejudices to the welfare of the country, and who will put that welfare before every selfish satisfaction or ambition.

Russia will yet emerge splendidly out of her present state of chaos. She has spilled too much blood, shed too many tears, displayed too much heroism, shown too much patience, clung to too many faiths in presence of suffering and death, destruction and despair, not to be rewarded in the future for her martyrdom of the past. What she requires, as I have said already, is time; time to heal her wounds, time to give to a savior the possibility to arise and redeem her. All that she is going through at present is but an incident in the course of her great history. The land that has given birth to Turgenev and Tolstoy, Dostoievsky and Prince Kropotkin, the land for whose sake Véra Fiegner went to prison and Plekhanoff into exile, this land will emerge greater than ever out of its agony of the present moment. A new governing class will come to the front, one that will not find itself hampered by vain regrets, and whose sight will not be darkened by the shadows of unaccepted sacrifices; a class that will be influenced only by love of country, that will be neither Bolshevist nor anti-Bolshevist, but that will understand how to use for the good of the Russian people all that is best on both sides and in both parties. It is to this class that the future belongs, and it is to its advent to power that we must look forward.

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THE BOOK TABLE: DEVOTED TO BOOKS AND THEIR MAKERS

OCCIDENT AND ORIENT

TWO BOOKS ON THE PROBLEM OF THEIR RELATIONSHIP

WHEN in his famous Fourteen Points President Wilson enunciated the principle of "the self-determination of peoples," the enormous but conglomerate mass of human beings in Asia was deeply stirred—that is to say, stirred as much as any such mass can be by political or philosophical ideas. Egyptians, Bengalis, Koreans, and Filipinos asked themselves, If the principle of self-determination is general and axiomatic, why should it be applied to Belgium and Serbia and denied to the inhabitants of Asia and Africa?

The answer of many thoughtful Occidentals is that the principle is not general and axiomatic, as Mr. Wilson supposed it to be, and that national life and national governments cannot be built by philosophical theory upon paper constitutions, but are the product of long processes of evolution. This does not mean that the advocate of national evolution should refrain from attacking autocracy, despotism, or governmental injustice when it is displayed towards subject peoples. Mr. Keynes's much-talked-of and on the whole harmful book, "The Economic Consequences of the Peace," attacks the Treaty of Versailles because of its impractical and autocratic treatment of Germany; the two books under review, "The Awakening of Asia," by H. M. Hyndman,[1] and "The New Map of Asia," by Herbert Adams Gibbons,[2] dwell upon the failure of the Peace Conference to do justice to Asiatics and Africans, and predict calamity in the future unless the Treaty of Versailles is speedily revised and made a more human document.

Mr. Hyndman and Mr. Gibbons approach their subjects from different angles and with different temperaments. Mr. Hyndman is an old man, nearly eighty. Mr. Gibbons is in the prime of life. Mr. Hyndman was educated at an English university, Mr. Gibbons at an American university. Mr. Hyndman is a radical and revolutionary Socialist, who has taken part in violent uprisings in England and who is inclined to think that the religious motive or element in mankind is a sign of weakness and superstition; Mr. Gibbons was educated for the Protestant ministry and was at one time a Professor of History and Political Economy in Robert College, Constantinople; Mr. Hyndman apparently thinks that the white man has no place or function whatever in the East, Mr. Gibbons recognizes that the white man can be of great service to the inhabitants of Africa and Asia, but that he has misused his opportunities.

Mr. Hyndman thinks that the influence of Christian missionaries in the Orient as a whole has been malign. The earliest of them were "aiming at the overthrow of ancient Chinese civil, as well as religious, institutions." He asserts that "the introduction of Christianity into Japan by the Portuguese missionaries was, in fact, the very greatest danger which has ever threatened that country, . . . for Christianity was essentially opposed to all the beliefs and traditions upon which Japanese society was founded." Mr. Hyndman's suspicion of Christianity is based upon his definition of Christianity as "the religion of the individual, with what appears to all who regard human society as an organized whole as something of an Anarchist taint. Sooner or later, therefore, the spread of the Christian religion meant not only the weakening of other religions, but the sapping of state authority itself. . . . From the point of view of highly enlightened and capable Japanese rulers and statesmen Christianity struck not only at Buddhism and Shintoism, but at all ancient customs and ancient laws. To the Japanese state it was a cruel and subversive creed which would wreck the old ideas of devotion to ancestors, loyalty to the district, tribe, and superior, filial piety and family duty."

It is easy to see that a man holding this view of Christian civilization, of ancient Japanese culture, and of the superiority of the social organism to the individual would be very unsympathetic to the Peace Treaty of Paris and its attempt to form a league of virile nationalities. What Mr. Hyndman really wants is not a development of Asiatic civilization, but a complete reconstruction of Occidental political systems. In this respect his book certainly cannot be called constructive.

Mr. Hyndman is an extreme individualist so far as nations are concerned, and an extreme Socialist so far as individuals are concerned. That is to say, he apparently thinks that the Egyptians or Koreans or Chinese or Fiji Islanders each have a right to develop as an individual people without any kind of organic restraints from outside, and yet he would compel the individual human being to be completely subject to the state. For our part, we cannot see how he can reconcile these self-contradictory philosophies.

Dr. Gibbons's book is written from quite a different point of view. He believes in Occidental civilization, but also believes that it has often in the past been unjust and even cruel in its relations with Oriental civilization. He reminds us of "the inglorious opium war of 1841" by which Great Britain obtained the island of Hongkong from the Chinese as payment for the privilege of poisoning them with opium. The reader should bear in mind, however, that it is about as reasonable to condemn the British statesmen of to-day for the acts of British statesmen of eighty years ago as it would be to condemn General Pershing, General Wood, or Secretary Baker for the injustice behind our own Mexican War of 1846. But it is nevertheless true that the relations of the European governments towards the East, especially towards China, during the last century were generally reprehensible. Dr. Gibbons tells the story of the development of the theory of "European eminent domain" on the continent of Asia, and reaches the conclusion that Europeans are not so secure in their enjoyment of the privileges they have seized as they were before the European war. The rise of Japan is the great Oriental victory which challenges the doctrine of European domination. "In the eyes of Asia the victories of the Japanese over the Russians on the battlefield of Manchuria were victories for Asia over Europe." They were the beginning of the great struggle for emancipation. Europeans were no longer invincible. Dr. Gibbons appreciates that the action of Japan in the Shantung Peninsula was not inspired so much by enmity to Germany as it was by a realization of "the splendid opportunity to eliminate easily another European intruder."

It is not clear from reading his book whether Dr. Gibbons believes in the universal application of the so-called law of self-determination; but he does believe that if it is fair for Europe it is fair for Asiatics. He is an advocate of the principle of Asia for the Asiatics, and in this respect he doubtless approves of that feature of the proposed Covenant of the League of Nations which asserts that all dependencies in any part of the world are to be accepted as mandates or stewardships, and the records of the trust are to be reported periodically to the entire civilized world.

[1] The Awakening of Asia. By H. M. Hyndman. Boni & Liveright, New York.

[2] The New Map of Asia (1900–1919). By Herbert Adams Gibbons. The Century Company, New York.

THE NEW BOOKS

FICTION

Basil Everman. By Elsie Singmaster. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

A quietly truthful picture of the life of interesting people in a college town. Readers of the author's short stories that have appeared in The Outlook know that she has a keen sense of humor and that she understands how to develop a situation and bring it to a novel and unexpected issue. These qualities are shown in a broader and more mature way in this agreeable novel. It is a fine piece of work.

Between Scarlet Thrones. By Florence Willingham Pickard. The Stratford Company, Boston.

Boardwalk (The). By Margaret Widdemer. Harcourt, Brace & Howe, New York.

Burning Glass (The). By Marjorie Bowen. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.

Canaan. By Graça Aranha. Translated from the Portuguese by Mariano Joaquin Lorente. Preface by Guglielmo Ferrero. The Four Seas Company, Boston.

Cart of Many Colors (The). A Story of Italy. By Nannine La Villa Meiklejohn. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.

Cathy Rossiter. By Mrs. Victor Rickard. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

Contemporary Drama of Italy (The). By Lander MacClintock, Ph.D. The Contemporary Drama Series. Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

Craft of the Tortoise (The). A Play in Four Acts. By Algernon Tassin. Boni & Liveright, New York.

Diana of the Ephesians. By Mrs. Desmond Humphreys (Rita). The Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York.

Green Rust. By Edgar Wallace. Small, Maynard & Co., Boston.

A mystery and conspiracy story.

Happily Married. By Corra Harris. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

An amusing story, mildly cynical in its pictures of the devastation wrought by a too clever woman in the domestic and club life of a little Southern town.

Happy House. By Baroness von Hutten. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

Mrs. Walbridge, a writer of commonplace, old-fashioned romantic novels, is the mother of a lively lot of grown-up children and the wife of a self-conceited, self-indulgent, and contemptible husband who is amusing even in his caddishness. She is a fine old lady, who sustains by her work

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her not very grateful family, effaces herself, and wins the reader's warm affection. The novel is entertaining rather than deep.

Luca Sarto. By Charles S. Brooks. The Century Company, New York.

Louis XI of France here appears again as arch-villain and hypocrite, exactly the same as we know him in Scott's "Quentin Durward," in "If I Were King," and in other novels and plays. Luca Sarto is an Italian artist and swashbuckler of the type of Benvenuto Cellini. His adventures in France are told with dash, and the style smacks truly of the manner of the fifteenth century.

Mystery of the Silver Dagger (The). By Randall Parrish. The George H. Doran Company New York.

The title indicates exactly the nature of the story. It is a murder mystery skillfully handled.

Outlaw (The). By Maurice Hewlett. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

A new prose saga of Iceland in the old days; a companion piece to Mr. Hewlett's "Gudrid the Fair." Needless to say, it is masterly in its art and vividness; yet many of the author's admirers would welcome his return to that type of writing that gave us "Half-Way House" and "Richard Yea-and-Nay."

Plunderer (The). By Henry Oyen. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

A vigorous tale of the Florida swamps. Not crocodiles or snakes, but land swindlers are the dangers encountered. The tale is exciting and adventurous.

Red and Black. By Grace S. Richmond. Illustrated. Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City.

Rim o' the World. By B. M. Bower. Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

Sanctus Spiritus & Company. By Edward A. Steiner. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

Seldwyla Folks. Three Singular Tales. By Gottfried Keller. Translated by Wolf von Schierbrand. Brentano's, New York.

Sheila Intervenes. By Stephen McKenna. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

"Sheila" is inferior to the author's "Sonia" novels, as might be expected from such earlier work.

Stars Incline (The). By Jeanne Judson. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

Strong Hours (The). By Maud Diver. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

Substance of a Dream (The). Translated by F. W. Bain. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Taming of Nan (The). By Ethel Holdsworth. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.

Their Son. The Necklace. By Eduardo Zamacois. Translated by George Allan England. Boni & Liveright, New York.

Transit of Venus (The). By John Philip Sousa. Illustrated. Small, Maynard & Co., Boston.

ART

Illustrated Books of the Past Four Centuries. By Frank Weitenkampf, L.H.D. New York Public Library, New York City.

This record of a recent exhibition held in the New York City Public Library is much more than a mere list of the books shown. The careful bibliographical notes make the pamphlet of real value to collectors of beautiful books. Some of the books included, it is comforting to observe, may still be obtained at moderate prices.

BIOGRAPHY

Jane Austen. By O. W. Firkins. Henry Holt & Co., New York.

A critical and biographical estimate of the novelist and her work. Minute analysis of individual characters, their consistency and temperaments, is carried a little too far for any but the devoted admirers who have every one of Miss Austen's novels firmly in remembrance.

Rambling Recollections. An Autobiography. By A. D. Rockwell, M.D. Illustrated. Paul B. Hoeber, New York.

Dr. Rockwell, now eighty years old, has known professionally and socially many interesting and some famous people. He has had in his long and active life varied and unusual experiences. Always, evidently, he has been tolerant and receptive. In these reminiscences he writes amiably and attractively. Particularly welcome are his graphic recollections of the Civil War, in which he served as a surgeon. General readers as well as the author's circle of friends will find much in this volume to entertain and much that throws reflected light on American social and civic progress.

Within My Horizon. By Helen Bartlett Bridgman. Illustrated. Small, Maynard & Co., Boston.

Miscellaneous recollections and reflections of a versatile newspaper correspondent who has met many celebrities and who gossips entertainingly about them and herself. Among the people thus familiarly talked of are Peary, Amundsen, Kipling, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, and Zona Gale.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

Grand Canyon of Colorado (The). By John C. Van Dyke. Illustrated. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

Here is an exceptionally good book about the Grand Canyon. For the thoughtful and intelligent reader it will perhaps be the best introduction to a visit to the Canyon itself. The description is restrained yet eloquent, the scientific discussion is lucid, and the pictures, though small, are chosen with excellent taste and judgment.

Russian Theatre under the Revolution (The). By Oliver M. Sayler. Illustrated. Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

Mr. Sayler undertook the unusual and daring adventure of studying the Russian theater while the Bolshevist revolution was in progress. He found it surprisingly little disturbed by the political upheavals outside its walls. This book will interest not only those who want to study the splendid stage of Moscow and Petrograd, but those who are looking for side-lights on the Russian Revolution as well.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Expositions of Holy Scripture. By Alexander MacLaren, D.D., Litt D. 17 vols. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

The title exhibits a work of colossal magnitude, but veils its notable worth. It is the record of the life-work for a half-century in the great city of Manchester, England, of an extraordinarily gifted preacher. Sir W. Robertson Nicoll, a competent critic, wrote of him, "He was out of sight the most brilliant man all round we ever knew." As wonderful as his gifts was the use he made of them. "He toiled terribly that he might be an effective preacher." He made himself a scholar familiar with Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, and with the best in English and Continental literature, and with great labor perfected a masterly style.

To him preaching was the exposition of the eternal divine thought. He had an extraordinary gift of analyzing a text. "He touched it with a silver hammer," and it immediately broke up into natural and memorable divisions, so comprehensive and so clear that it seemed the only natural exposition of it.

A conspicuous feature of his expository art was his constant use of supplementary or contrasting passages of Scripture as sidelights or reflections upon the passage he was expounding. Very many of the less known portions and verses of the Bible are thus brought out into graphic relief. Nor is a key lacking to this thesaurus in which almost every Biblical and theological subject is treated either briefly or fully. The index which concludes the seventeenth volume with its 177 double-columned pages, in which every subject treated and every text illustrating it are cited for ready reference, makes these expositions of Holy Scripture invaluable to every studious reader or preacher of the Word of Life.

These volumes will long carry on in all English-speaking lands Dr. MacLaren's instructive, incisive, and in the deepest sense realistic teachings as to the *rationale* of the divine life in the souls of men—its nature, its beginnings, its after developments, and the spiritual forces by which it is begun and carried on.

SCIENCE

Yours for Sleep. By William S. Walsh, M.D. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.

A non-technical and readable book by a man who has full knowledge of both the science and the literature of his subject. Insomniacs will find this a complete guide to sleep so far as it can be induced by physiological or psychological remedies.

EDUCATIONAL

Pocket Guides to Public Speaking. 1. How to Speak Without Notes. 2. Something to Say: How to Say It. 3. Successful Methods of Public Speaking. 4. Model Speeches for Practice. 5. The Training of a Public Speaker. 6. How to Sell Through Speech. 7. Impromptu Speeches: How to Make Them. 8. Word-Power: How to Develop It. 9. Christ: The Master Speaker. 10. Vital English for Speakers and Writers. By Grenville Kleiser. The Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York.

To a young man ambitious to excel in public speaking and willing to work hard for that result no better written help could be given than the gift of a set of these books. The suggestions are sensible, sound, comprehensive, and written in terse and understandable language. Many practiced speakers could improve their style by following them, to the advantage and greater pleasure of their audiences.

MISCELLANEOUS

Bobbins of Belgium. By Charlotte Kellogg. Illustrated. The Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York.

Is there any woman who doesn't love lace? If such there be, she will not like this book. All others will, not only for the descriptions and the numerous good pictures of fine lace, but for the human-interest story of the lives of the Belgian lace workers during the war and their heroic efforts to "carry on."

Democracy Made Safe. By Paul Harris Drake. The Four Seas Company, Boston.

Education for Democracy. By Eugene C. Brooks. Edited by Lyman P. Powell. (Patriotism Through Literature.) Rand, McNally & Co., Chicago.

Excess Profits Tax Procedure. By Robert H. Montgomery. The Ronald Press Company, New York.

Human Nature in Business. How to Capitalize Your Every-Day Habits and Characteristics. By Fred C. Kelly. Illustrated. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Income Tax Procedure, 1920. By Robert H. Montgomery. The Ronald Press Company, New York.

Opium Monopoly (The). By Ellen N. La Motte. The Macmillan Company, New York.

Selected Articles on the American Merchant Marine. Compiled by Edith M. Phelps. (Debaters' Handbook Series.) Second and Enlarged Edition. The H. W. Wilson Company, New York.

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THIS WEEK'S OUTLOOK

A WEEKLY OUTLINE STUDY OF CURRENT HISTORY[1]

BY J. MADISON GATHANY

SCARBOROUGH SCHOOL, SCARBOROUGH-ON-HUDSON, N. Y.

The Conviction of Senator Newberry

WHEN was the Corrupt Practices Act passed? What conditions led to its enactment? What are its provisions?

Why not allow a nominee for public office and his friends to spend any amount of money they please for election purposes?

Was Senator Newberry impeached? Against whom can impeachment charges be brought? Can military officers be removed by impeachment?

What right have members of Congress to expel their fellow-Congressmen or refuse a seat to a legally elected Congressman? Would you take this power away from them? If so, what is your line of argument?

Name what, in your opinion, are a number of improper uses of money in elections. What do you consider constitutes legitimate campaign expenses?

Senator Newberry says that the country was in danger; that his opponent—Henry Ford—was a pacifist, and that it was a patriotic duty to prevent Ford's election. Admitting that Senator Newberry's statements are sound, does that justify his breaking the law? Is it ever right to break a law, no matter what its nature may be, so long as that law is on the statute-book?

If Senator Newberry were your father or brother, would that fact influence your opinion as to whether he is guilty or not? Should it?

Define these words: *Criminal, heinousness, exonerate, fraud, bribery, arbitrary, political campaign.*

A Few Words about Russia

In her article about Russia, found on another page, Princess Radziwill makes frequent mention of the French Revolution in speaking of the present condition of Russia. When was that Revolution? Do you know what it was? Is Russia now passing through experiences similar to those through which France passed at that time?

The writer of this article says that history repeats itself. Some leading historians say that history not only does not, but cannot, repeat itself. What reasons have you for holding to one or the other of these beliefs?

Recently the Right Honorable Winston Churchill said: "Russia is the decisive factor in the history of the world at the present time. You may abandon Russia, but Russia will not abandon you. You cannot remake the world without Russia." What is your interpretation of these statements?

What, in your opinion, should be the attitude of Western nations toward Russia?

Give an accurate definition for each of the following: *Ostracism, cataclysm, thraldom, paradoxical, annihilation, lethargy, muzhik, communism.*

You will find material on Russia very much worth while reading in the following books: "Russia as an American Problem," by John Spargo (Harper & Brothers); "The New Map of Asia," by H. A. Gibbons (Century Company); "The French Revolution: A Study in Democratic Government," by N. H. Webster (E. P. Dutton).

The Rejected Treaty

What points in the editorial review entitled "The Treaty with Germany" and the editorial "The Treaty Rejected" interest you particularly? Tell why.

Upon whom do you place responsibility for the rejection of the Treaty?

Many in this country believe that the rejection of the Treaty was both a National and a universal disaster. Is this putting the matter too strongly?

Does the rejection of the Treaty mean to you that America has withdrawn active participation in the settlement of the World War? If not, what does it mean to you?

If you were in President Wilson's place, what action would you take next in reference to the Treaty and the League of Nations? What is America's international status just now, both as to the Allies and the Teutonic powers? Do you approve of this status?

The Outlook characterizes the Irish reservation as meddlesome and preposterous. Do you agree with The Outlook? For what reasons do you think the Senate adopted it as a reservation? Was it grossly insulting to a friendly nation? Do you think we would endure the same conduct if applied against us by Great Britain or any other country?

What lessons do you see for all Americans in the handling of the Treaty since its introduction in the Senate?

What are your definitions for the following terms: *Coterie, duress, integral part, fiasco, joint resolution, itinerant, modus vivendi, reservation, affront, hodgepodge.*

If you care to read an impartial, comprehensive, and authoritative history of Ireland in relation to England, secure the book entitled "Ireland and England," by E. R. Turner (Century Company).

Lest We Forget

The writer of the letter quoted by The Outlook in its editorial on this topic is of the opinion that Americans as a people are disposed to grovel among the things that are low and the things that are objectionable. Is this characteristic of the people of your community? Or do they show that they appreciate "the wonders of accomplishment" in our country?

He also believes that we are "living in and with the greatest Government ever devised by man." What points would you use in attempting to prove this statement?

The Outlook, in commenting upon the suggestion offered by the writer, points out many worth-while things the people of the United States have done despite the fact that they possess shortcomings. How many other such things can you add to The Outlook's list?

[1] These questions and comments are designed not only for the use of current events classes and clubs, debating societies, teachers of history and English, and the like, but also for discussion in the home and for suggestions to any reader who desires to study current affairs as well as to read about them. —THE EDITORS.

ENGLAND AND OUR CIVIL WAR

(From the New York "Evening Post")

At the height of the American Civil War there was founded in Manchester, England, the Union and Emancipation Society, the able President of which was T. B. Potter, a well-known Free-Trader. Its first circulars were issued in April, 1863, only a few months after Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation. In the next three years it distributed more than four hundred thousand books, pamphlets, and tracts and held more than five hundred public meetings to express sympathy with the North and to resist the calls for the recognition of the slave-holding Confederacy. Among those who refused to join it was Charles Kingsley, who certainly abhorred slavery. After the Civil War Potter was sitting one night in conversation at the Century Club, in London, when he felt a touch on his shoulder. Looking up, he saw Kingsley, who said: "Let me interrupt you just one minute. With regard to the American Civil War, you were right and I was wrong. That's all. Good-night."

This story is told by W. H. Chesson, who contributes a chapter entitled "Voices of the Sixties" to a volume called "Anglo-American Relations" (Scribners, p. 214), the chief author of which is Brougham Villiers. In this chapter it is also related that Potter stood for a Parliamentary seat at Rochdale in 1865, against the man who later became Lord Esher. The final poll showed that Potter had been elected. He thanked the people for returning him, and said that the result would be good news for their London friends. "Then he added, 'But I have better news for you.' Immediately there was a dead silence, the crowd not being able to understand what he referred to. 'Richmond has fallen.' There arose a cheer louder and more deafening than any of the previous. Dayton, son of the American Minister at Paris, who had come to Rochdale to see what an English election was like, had been standing behind my father, and he said, 'Mr. Potter, if that cheer could have been carried across the Atlantic, Americans would think very differently of your country.'"

TWO SUGGESTIONS FOR SPEAKERS

(From "The Young Man and the Law," by Simeon E. Baldwin)

To argue cases with the greatest effect, the speaker must dwell only on the main points. The successful lawyer soon learns this. It makes his success.

John Bright once compared his own methods with Gladstone's, thus: "When I speak I strike across from headland to headland. Mr. Gladstone follows the coast line; and when he comes to a navigable river he is unable to resist the temptation of tracing it to its source."

What a man is determines what he says. No one can rise to the highest ranks of the legal profession who is not honest at heart. One of Carlyle's wise sayings, in "Past and Present," is this: "How can a man, without clear vision in his heart first of all, have any clear vision in the head? It is impossible."

Be it possible or not with other men, it is certainly impossible for the lawyer. His work is to determine what justice is between man and man. For this he must have a clear notion of the principles of justice.

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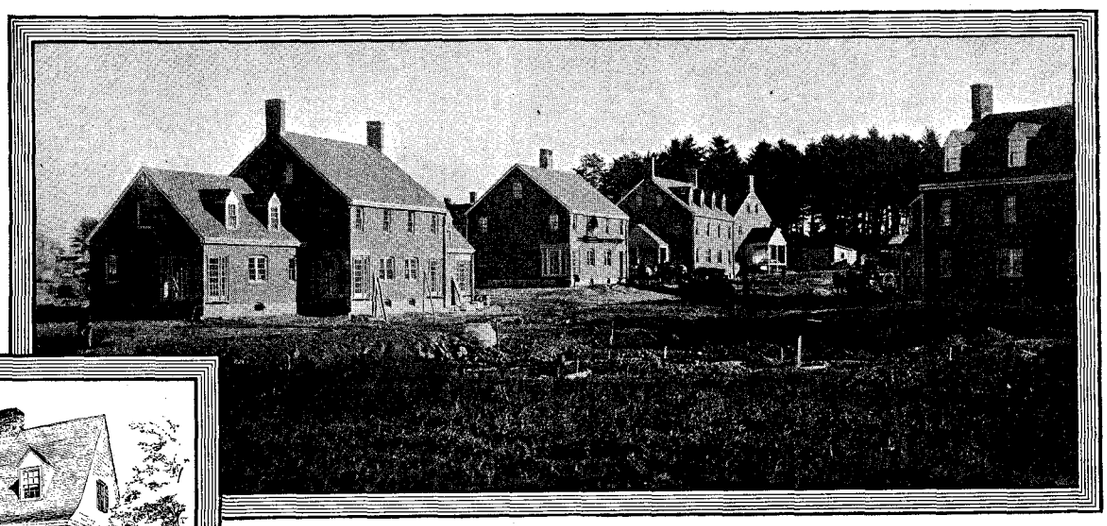

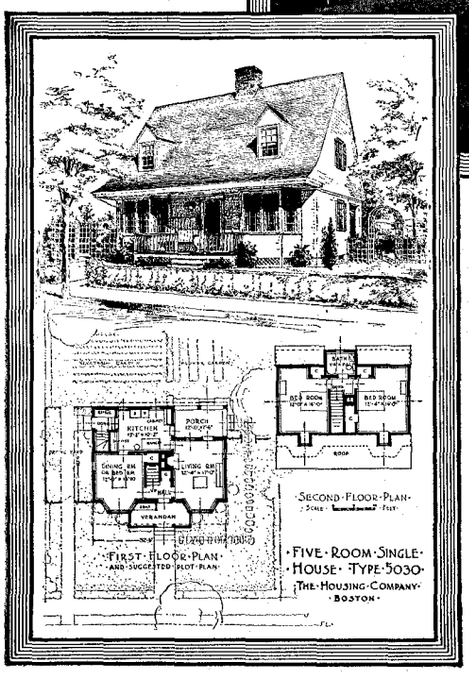

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UNREST Prevails. Right now the worker needs a home — an attractive, modern home suited to his standard of living. Homes in quantity — in groups — for he is numbered by the thousands.

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This crisis requires the harmonious action of town-planners, architects, engineers, and builders. All these forces are combined in one organization whose sole business is town-building. Vigorous action — technical and business — is concentrated to complete each project from origin to occupancy with professional skill and modern production methods.

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TOWN BUILDERS
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What James Hanford Learned About His Children's Reading

Are Your Boys and Girls Free From The Shadow of Tainted Literature?

He threw the novel into the fire

ENTERING his home early one evening, James Hanford found his fourteen-year-old daughter, Alice, reading before the fire. As he leaned over to kiss her, he was much astonished to find one of the worst decadent French novels open in her lap. "Oh, Alice, how could you?" he exclaimed, throwing the book into the fire. "It is no worse than the detective stories Bob reads upstairs," sobbed Alice.

Though Bob was at his drawing when his father entered the room, a few words brought forth a handful of cheap, lurid stories from beneath the boy's mattress. These went the way of the French novel.

"We are largely to blame," Mrs. Hanford admitted to her husband near the close of a thorough discussion of the whole matter. "We have given so little attention to the children's reading. Let us take more interest in what they read and get them started now on something clean and wholesome."

That evening was a turning point in the Hanford children's lives. Called into the family council, Alice and Bob asked for St. Nicholas, which they had read in the homes of their friends. The subscription was sent at once. Their father also took them to a good bookstore, where they spent a wonderful hour choosing several good books.

When the first number of St. Nicholas came, both Alice and Bob discovered that clean stories can be just as thrilling and interesting as any. But they found much more than stories in St. Nicholas. That same day Bob got his gang together and began to build a packing case village from the plans in St. Nicholas. And later they organized an indoor track meet from a St. Nicholas idea.

With these new interests to talk about, conversation picked up at the Hanford dinner table. Mr. Hanford was amazed at the variety of topics his children could discuss intelligently. From St. Nicholas they obtained a clear idea of world events because these were treated in a way they could understand.

* * * * * * *

In how many American homes is this story of the Hanfords being repeated every day?

Doesn't the welfare of your children suggest that you fill out and mail the coupon to-day for a year's subscription?

St. Nicholas Magazine, Dept. P-22,
353 Fourth Avenue, New York

Enclosed is $3 (check or money order) for one year's subscription to be sent to

Name .....

Address .....

THE NATION'S INDUSTRIAL PROGRES

Believing that the advance of business is a subject of vital interest and importance, The Outlook w present under the above heading frequent discussions of subjects of industrial and commercial intere This department will include paragraphs of timely interest and articles of educational value dealing wi the industrial upbuilding of the Nation. Comment and suggestions are invited.

THE NATIONAL HIGHWAY BILL

(Extracts from an article by Pyke Johnson, Secretary of the Highways Committee of the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce and reprinted by courtesy of the Service Motor Truck Company.)

CORRECTED, revised, rewritten, as a result of hundreds of constructive criticisms received from all parts of the United States, the National Highway Bill fathered by the Hon. Charles E. Townsend, United States Senator from Michigan, has once more been introduced before the Senate of the United States, this time with the hope that Congress will take favorable action on it during the present session.

Senator Townsend first introduced his bill in the Senate in February of last year. At that time he stated that, while he was clear as to the soundness of the principles written into it, he was not sure of the details, and accordingly his purpose in bringing the measure before Congress was simply to have it made a subject of debate by highway authorities throughout the country.

Since that time the bill has been discussed in practically every hamlet of the United States; every unit of the automobile industry has indorsed the principles written into it, as has the National Grange, representing seven hundred thousand farmers, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the fountainhead of the business organizations of the country, the International Rotary Clubs, the American Automobile Association, and literally thousands of other organizations.

In its fundamentals the Townsend Bill is an evolutionary step forward. Instead of distributing Government appropriations to the several States of the Union for use in construction by them, the new measure provides for the creation of a Federal Highway Commission whose function it shall be to unify all of the highway activities of the Government and to construct and maintain solely at the Government's expense a National system of highways.

Because of varying geographical conditions which exist in several sections of the country, the Senator found his definition of a National highway system was one not easily written and one which, in point of fact, has required more time and study than all of the other clauses of the bill.

The final result, however, is one which meets with every test which could be made of it, while at the same time equalizing appropriations as between States as much as may be possible.

In brief, the bill says that the National highway system shall consist of two main highways in each State which shall comprise one per cent of the total mileage in that State as ascertained by the Commission. Wherever such percentage is not sufficient to cause these highways to meet highways at State boundaries, or to meet main highways of border counties, or to connect with the main waterways, or a combination of three, the Commission is authorized to extend the mileage to provide two such highways.

In all States where any portion of the mileage to be taken over has been constructed to a standard deemed adequate by the Commission, that body is directed to construct an equal mileage of connectin highways at the expense of the Gover ment and then to turn them over to t State for maintenance.

The Commission is directed to conf with State highway departments regar ing locations of highways and, in its di cretion, make contracts with the State d partments to undertake the actual wor under Government supervision. . . .

In order to avoid concentration of all the funds on one highway in one State i any one year, the Commission is directe to make annual deductions for administr tion and maintenance, and then to di tribute the remaining funds between sev eral States in the same ratio as the mileag constructed in each State bears to the tot mileage in all the States. All highway constructed are to be of material and of type adequate to meet the needs of presen and future traffic with a right of way of 6 feet and a wearing surface of 20 feet, sav where excessive costs, physical conditio etc., render further limitations advisable.

The reasons for the passage of this Ac are known to all who have studied trans portation, but are not perhaps as clear t those who simply know that good road are of benefit to all, but do not understan the need for efficient and economical ad ministration of funds in the constructio of these roads.

Under the present Federal Aid Act th Government distributes its money amon the several States, which then proceed t expend these funds on such highways a they may desire. The result is that we hav in the United States to-day no connecte or correlating system of highways. W have no uniform standard of construction and an analysis of the Federal Aid project to date shows us that 55 per cent of tota mileage under agreement is made up o dirt, sand, and gravel roads. Further, th law specifically says that no funds shall b spent for maintenance, thus failing to in sure the Government's expenditure against loss, the main vital point in the entire high way programme.

All of these points are made in the Townsend Bill through the centralization of authority and the concentration upon selected highways instead of upon all.

On a basis of a report made by the joint Congressional Committee in 1912, it is conservatively estimated that at least $500,000,000 would be saved annually through the construction of such a system as this. Increased real estate valuations will add billions of dollars to the potential wealth of the Nation, decreased cost of foods and other products will result to the consumer, and the release of State funds for use in the improvement of State highways will immediately result in a building up of feeders to the main system.

Through the construction of thirty thousand miles, which it is estimated would be necessary to such a system, the United States would be given a second line of transportation for use in an emergency such as war or railway tie-ups, a new sys-

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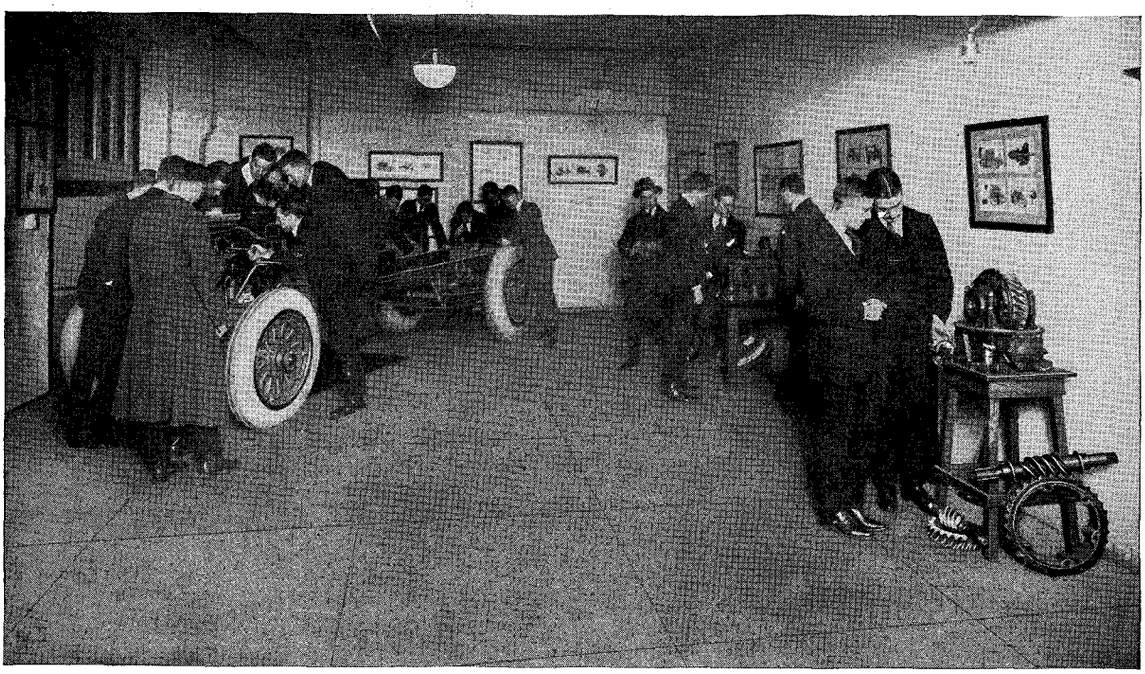

Drivers' Conference Room—Packard Service Station. Attended by drivers from all over the Metropolitan District. Owing to the practical engineering and basic economy of the Packard Truck, a week's conferences is usually enough to win a driver his Gold Star and Certificate for Proficiency.

The Driver's Experience *vs.* "Features" and "Talking Points"

GIVE the driver a chance and he will take any amount of trouble to find out a *better way* of handling his truck.

Men drive all day, and then come long distances night after night to the *Packard Service Conference.* The class is always full. There is a long waiting list ahead.

It is unfortunate that the average driver's efforts to keep his costs down are so often thwarted by the *truck* he is given to work with.

THE following National Standard Truck Cost System facts on the performance of over 1700 Packard Trucks in 1919 have a *vital significance* for the truck user.

An average *saving in gasoline* of 10 per cent—due to greater efficiency in operation with the aid of the National Standard System.

The National Standard System, used in connection with Packard Trucks, has shown it possible to reduce cost per ton-mile.

Truck owners who have used the System for a year or more, and have compared the Packard with other trucks, are standardizing on Packard.

The driver finds the Packard easier all around to handle.

Less vibration because of the smooth-running Packard engine, the construction of the worm drive, and the placing of 85 to 95 per cent of the live load on the rear axle.

Less strain at the wheel, owing to the Packard semi-irreversible steering gear.

Easier handling on the hills, owing to Packard high tractive force on the road and four-speed transmission graded up by even steps. Easier to keep clean. Engine enclosed, and lubricated automatically. Fly wheel and clutch shut off from dust and mud.

THE man who is in doubt what make of truck to buy might well ask his *driver's* advice.

It may surprise him to learn the positive Packard opinion among men who judge a truck solely by what it will *do.*

"Ask the Man Who Owns One"

PACKARD MOTOR CAR COMPANY, *Detroit*

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LONG BEFORE BREAKFAST W. L. DOUGLAS COULD BE SEEN TRUDGING ALONG THE DUSTY ROAD, DRIVING THE COWS TO PASTURE

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"THE SHOE THAT HOLDS ITS SHAPE"

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The quality of W. L. Douglas product is guaranteed by more than 40 years experience in making fine shoes. The smart styles are the leaders in the fashion centers of America. They are made in a well-equipped factory at Brockton, Mass., by the highest paid, skilled shoemakers, under the direction and supervision of experienced men, all working with an honest determination to make the best shoes for the price that money can buy. The retail prices are the same everywhere. They cost no more in San Francisco than they do in New York.

W. L. Douglas shoes are for sale by over 9000 shoe dealers besides our own stores. If your local dealer cannot supply you, take no other make. Order direct from the factory. Send for booklet telling how to order shoes by mail, postage free.

CAUTION.—Insist upon having W. L. Douglas shoes. The name and price is plainly stamped on the sole. If it has been changed or mutilated, BEWARE OF FRAUD.

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THE NATIONAL HIGHWAY BILL

(Continued)

tem of defense which in effect would girdle the country, making troops and supply movements more facile, and finally, in a broad way, seven main highways running east and west and five running north and south. These roads would be travelable practically the year round and would serve to facilitate inter-State commerce, benefit the postal service, and generate a new spirit of Nationalism. . . .

At a time when the Nation is facing a stupendous deficit from the World War, it is apparent that every effort should be made to eliminate waste and to effect the greatest possible saving, not only to the Government itself, but to those taxpayers who really comprise the Government and who must provide the money for its operation. This is one of the great tasks which a National highway system will perform. Ultimately it will serve to reduce the cost of living, since excessive transportation costs form a much larger item in the cost of the ham and eggs which appear on the breakfast table, in the costs which go into the bride's trousseau, and, in fact, everything that we have, eat, and wear, than is generally appreciated.

The measure will not become a law, however, unless an aroused and intelligent public opinion demands it. The only way in which this demand can be expressed is through communication with the members of Congress, who are always ready to be enlightened upon any subject of interest to the general welfare, but who have not had the time in the press of other events to come to a full consideration of this problem in the past.

THE LARGEST YET—BUT ARE EVEN THESE THE "LARGEST"?

I have noticed in recent numbers of The Outlook, in "By the Way," the various "largest springs in the world" that you have been reporting from time to time.

Idaho is an arid State, but in it are located springs larger than any yet reported in your publication. The springs of Snake River Canyon which flow into that stream from the north between Shoshone Falls and Bliss, Idaho, at intervals of every few miles, have an aggregate discharge varying between 4,800 and 5,200 cubic feet per second, or an average flow of 2,250,000 gallons per minute. The largest individual springs are the Malad Springs, with a flow of 520,000 gallons per minute; Thousand Springs, with 450,000 gallons per minute; Crystal Springs, 243,000 gallons per minute; Clear Lakes, 240,000 gallons per minute; Box Canyon Springs, 212,000 gallons per minute. The total flow of these springs in a year is 3,700,000 acre feet, or one trillion two hundred billion gallons. The springs are all fed from one great underground river about twenty miles in width, which is partly supplied by seepage water from the Twin Falls North Side irrigation project, but which derives its main supply from the waters of Snake River, Big Lost River, Little Lost River, and Birch Creek, which streams lose their waters either wholly or in part in gravel deposits as they emerge from the foothills 170 to 200 miles northeast of where the springs finally appear.

LYNN CRANDALL.

Jerome, Idaho.

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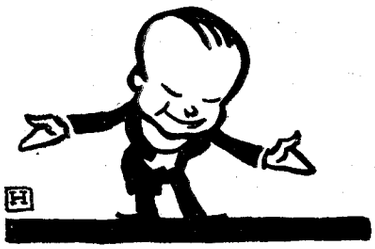

This does it

If you care about saving a dollar (one whole dollar — and in these days at that!) read the few words on the inside of the back cover, then

write your name here

and your address here

and mail this blank with $4 to The Outlook Company, 381 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.

But mail it before midnight of Thursday, April 1st, or it won't do at all. From that time on, the price of The Outlook is $5 a year.

BY THE WAY

In The Outlook of February 25 a paragraph in this column told of the manly attitude of General Henry R. Hill in accepting a reduction in rank imposed on him during the war. He was inadvertently alluded to in that paragraph as "the old General," but he was comparatively a young man, though a veteran of the Spanish War. General Hill's mother enforces the point in a moving letter to us:

"To have my son called 'the old General' in your paragraph was a surprise. He was forty-two years old June 18, 1918, and was killed in the Argonne October 16, 1918. Forty-two cannot be called old—only he had done his life's work. I just felt that I must tell you my boy was not old. His death leaves me entirely alone in the world."

Surely not entirely alone; the sympathy and friendship of a great host of Mrs. Hill's countrymen and countrywomen are with her. To them, as to her, her son was one of those "soldier boys" whose memory will be eternally young in their hearts.

The New York "Evening World" thus satirizes the limerick and one of its contemporaries that offers a daily prize for the best limerick:

> Attention, Limerickers! Before trying to supply the missing word in the puzzle rhyme that follows, go to a bakery and see what they bake in the ovens. It may give you a hint. If you find the word send it in. For this one time contestants may send us not only a check for $200, but a quart of ice-cream, in order to help the milk distributers cut down the supply, and a pint of dill pickles with as few warts as possible. Now buckle in—here's the rhyme:
>
> *"I can't find the apples," said Si,*
> *"No matter how hard I may try."*
> *The reason was this—*
> *The cook, Hannah Bliss,*
> *Had put them all into a ——.*

The camphor tree is regarded as perhaps the most valuable of trees. An average tree in the island of Formosa, as stated in an article in the "National Geographic Magazine," will yield approximately 6,660 pounds of camphor, which is to-day worth about $5,000.

Formosa, according to the article above quoted, is a beautiful island with somewhat unbeautiful natives who are addicted to the habit of head-hunting. This makes exploring dangerous. The Japanese, however, have made things safer by installing a live-wire barrier a hundred miles long that restricts the savages to a limited territory and makes their gory pastime difficult. Other equally unbeautiful but very useful natives of Formosa are the water buffaloes. "No rural Formosan landscape is complete without at least one of these hulking creatures," says the writer. "And wherever there are buffaloes, graceful white herons are seen perched on their backs. It seems, indeed, that each buffalo has a particular heron for a pal, who takes care to rid him of smaller friends, just as devoted perhaps, but less desirable."

It may not take nine tailors to make a man, observes the Philadelphia "North American," but it is certain that it takes only one to-day to break him.

The Cunard Line, which in the old days was justly proud of its record of almost complete immunity from loss of passengers' lives or of its vessels, was a heavy loser during the war. It is now building a dozen vessels to take the place of those sunk during the great conflict. A number of the new boats are to bear the names of vessels lost. The Franconia is to take the place of the Franconia torpedoed in the Mediterranean in 1916. The Laconia, Andania, Aurania, Ascania, and Alaunia are to replace vessels of the same names that were victims of German torpedoes or mines. The Scythia is to be the namesake of a vessel which in her day was a queen of the fleet. Prior to 1875, when she entered the service, the Scythia was advertised proudly as a huge vessel of 5,000 tons burden, the largest and finest steamship afloat!

From "Karikaturen," of Christiania, Norway:

"Two dentists discuss shop. One remarks: 'My treatment is so painless that it often happens that my patients fall asleep while I am attending to their teeth.' 'Pooh! that's nothing!' says the other; 'you should see my place. My patients nearly always ask me to send a messenger to fetch a photographer so that they can be photographed with the expression of gladness which my dental treatment alone can give them!'"

From "Lustige Gesellschaft," of Berlin:

Head Detective (a Teutonic Sherlock Holmes), reflecting: "The wretch has fled with ten thousand marks. Therefore he must be traveling on foot; a taxi to the station would have cost him more than that."

From "Tyribans," of Christiania, Norway:

Wife—"But, Hansen, if you always long for me when you are away from me, why must you go every evening to your club as you do?"

Husband—"Because otherwise I *might* cease to long for you!"

From "Le Pêle-Mêle," of Paris:

Connoisseur (newly rich)—"Six thousand francs for that old picture! I could understand it if it was a modern painting, on account of the high price of oil. But in the eighteenth century oil was only four cents a quart!"

From "Campana de Gracia," of Barcelona, Spain:

The Unfortunate One—"Sir, help me! I have been out of work six weeks!"

The Profiteer—"Well, I've done no work for fifty years and I don't want any one to help me!"

The deepest hole in the world is said to be in West Virginia, where a boring for oil reached the depth of 7,589 feet. Another well in the same State went down 7,386 feet. In both cases the borings failed to "strike oil," though they went much deeper than the "greatest oil well in the world," as it is called, a well named Cerro Azul No. 4, in Mexico, which sent up a column of oil higher than the Washington Monument and wasted a million barrels of oil before it was got under control.

Stonehenge, now a national monument of the British people, is undergoing preservative treatment so that the gigantic stones may not topple over. In making a concrete foundation for one of the columns, no fewer than 125 rude implements of stone used in the original work of dressing the boulders came to light, together with a "pick" ingeniously fashioned from the antler of the red deer. Astronomical calculations give the date of erection of this great prehistoric work as 1680 B.C.

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"Want" advertisements, under the various headings, "Board and Rooms," "Help Wanted," etc., ten cents for each word or initial, **including the address, for each insertion.** The first word of each "Want" advertisement is set in capital letters without additional charge. Other words may be set in capitals, if desired, at double rates. If answers are to be addressed in care of The Outlook, **twenty-five cents** is charged for the box number named in the advertisement. Replies will be forwarded by us to the advertiser and bill for postage rendered. Special headings appropriate to the department may be arranged for on application.

Orders and copy for Classified Advertisements must be received with remittance ten days before the date of issue when it is intended the advertisement shall first appear.

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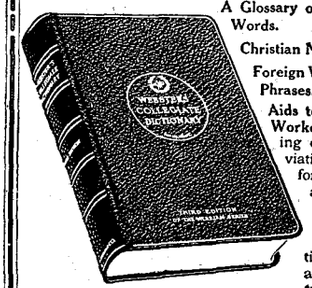

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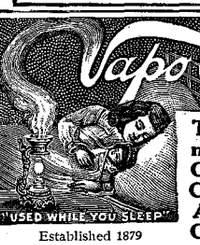

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